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Culture and the creative economy as builders of society in Kenya

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| Tiivistelmä/Referat – Abstract <p>Africa has recently increased its share of the global market, and the continent's potential has been recognized globally. The continent has experienced a lot of oppression and forced changes in history, and it is currently developing its new identity with relatively young states and its fast-growing population. African Union (AU) is calling pan-African ideology to bring together the African people in their blueprint and master plan Agenda 2063, where the cultural heritage is at the core. Culture is also at the core of the creative economy, and the creative economy's share of the global economy is growing. Due to globalization and digitalization, the knowledge from other cultures is spreading rapidly, which is the basis of a cultural shift both at local and global levels.</p> <p>This research investigated the culture and the creative economy as builders of society in Kenya. Kenya has been very successful in the field of Information and Communications Technology (ICT), the state takes its cultural heritage seriously in its development programs and their focus is especially on the potential of the youth in the creative economy. Kenya has a vast cultural diversity in the state with its officially recognized 44 tribes. This cultural diversity plays a significant role in the creative economy. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD, 2020), the creative economy has no single meaning, as the concept is constantly evolving. The basic elements of the concept are from human creativity, ideas, and intellectual property, knowledge and technology. The creative industries include such as music, film, video, arts and crafts and performing arts. These elements are the basis of the creative economy, in addition, they have a significant commercial and cultural value.</p> <p>The research was conducted in Kenya during January and February 2021, and the data was collected from two main geographical research areas, the city of Nairobi and Taita-Taveta County. The geographical research areas were chosen by their cultural diversity, the creative economy and their urban and rural statuses. Nairobi has a classification of a creative city where the digital creative economy is booming, and the city is attracting people around East Africa. Taita-Taveta respectively is a rural county near the Kenyan coast, where the creative economy is mainly in the traditional form, for example, crafting and basket making. The research combined the elements from the ethnographical, hermeneutical and critical approaches by using unstructured, structured interviews and observation, as the methods combined qualitative methods with numerical data.</p> <p>The results show that the culture and the creative economy do build the society in Kenya. It is seen in each level of society, for example, among the families, tribes, counties and even the government. Each level influences and controls the way culture and the creative economy build the society in Kenya. The meaning of the community arose in culture and the creative economy shifts, as they provide help in the mitigation and adaptation into new situations. With the exponential population growth, the share of the youth is rising, culture and the creative economy have the potential to provide jobs for the youth in the future.</p> <p>There are challenges with culture and the creative economy in Kenya. First, to preserve the cultural diversity in Kenya among the youth. Second, to target the governmental policies to the right actions and towards the right groups, which would then support the sector itself. Due to attitude shifts, the role of the youth is a significant point to consider. Furthermore, there is a vast gap between the government and the community, which causes a lot of harm to the creative economy, as the policies do not support the creative sector. If these significant points are solved, there is a vast potential for the culture and the creative economy to continue building the society in Kenya.</p> | | | |
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| Tiivistelmä/Referat – Abstract <p>Afriikka on viime aikoina kasvattanut osuuttaan maailmanmarkkinoista, ja maanosan mahdollisuudet on tunnustettu maailmanlaajuisesti. Maanosa on kokenut paljon sortoa ja pakotettuja muutoksia historiansa aika, ja maanosan ja sen suhteellisten nuorten valtioiden identiteetti on kehitymässä, ja alueen väestö kasvaa nopeasti. Afrikan unioni (AU) pyrkii yhdistämään afrikkalaiset pan-afrikkalaisen ideologian avulla Agenda 2063 -suunnitelmassansa, jossa kulttuuriperintö on ytimessä. Kulttuuri on myös luovan talouden ytimessä, ja luovan talouden osuus maailmantaloudesta kasvaa. Globalisaatio ja digitalisaatio ovat mahdollistaneet tiedon nopean leviämisen, mikä on näkynyt kulttuurimuutoksena sekä paikallisella että globaalilla tasolla, kun tieto muista kulttuureista on levinnyt.</p> <p>Tässä tutkielmassa tarkasteltiin kulttuuria ja luovaa taloutta yhteiskunnan rakentajana Keniassa. Kenia on menestynyt tieto- ja viestintätekniikan alalla, ja valtio ottaa kulttuuriperintönsä vakavasti huomioon omissa kehitysohjelmissaan, joissa valtio on keskittynyt erityisesti nuorten potentiaaliin luovassa taloudessa. Keniassa on valtava kulttuurinen monimuotoisuus, ja valtiossa on virallisesti tunnustettu 44 heimoa. Kenian kulttuurisella monimuotoisuudella on merkittävä rooli luovassa taloudessa. Yhdistyneiden Kansakuntien kauppa- ja kehityskonferenssin (UNCTAD, 2020) mukaan luovalla taloudella ei ole yhtä merkitystä, koska käsite kehittyi jatkuvasti. Käsitteen peruselementit ovat peräisin ihmisten luovuudesta, ideoista sekä henkisestä omaisuudesta, tiedosta ja tekniikasta. Luoviin aloihin kuuluvat muun muassa musiikki, elokuva, video, taide ja käsityöt sekä esittävät taiteet. Nämä tekijät ovat luovan talouden perusta, ja lisäksi niillä on merkittävä kaupallinen ja kulttuurinen arvo.</p> <p>Kenttätyö toteutettiin Keniassa tammi- ja helmikuussa 2021, ja tiedot kerättiin kahdelta pääalueelta Nairobien kaupungista ja Taita-Tavetan alueelta. Maantieteelliset tutkimusalueet valittiin kulttuurisen monimuotoisuuden, luovan talouden ja sijainnin perusteella. Nairobi on luokiteltu luovaksi kaupungiksi, jossa digitaalinen luova talous kukoistaa, ja kaupunki houkuttelee ihmisiä muualta Itä-Afrikasta. Taita-Taveta on vastaavasti maaseutumainen alue lähellä Kenian rannikkoa, jossa luova talous esiintyy pääasiassa perinteisessä muodossa, ja alueella tehdään esimerkiksi paljon käsityöitä. Tässä tutkielmassa yhdistettiin etnografisen, hermeneuttisen ja kriittisen lähestymistavan elementit käyttämällä strukturoimattomia ja jäsenneltyjä haastatteluja sekä havainnointia, ja menetelmissä yhdistettiin kvalitatiiviset menetelmät numeerisiin tietoihin.</p> <p>Tulokset osoittavat, että kulttuuri ja luova talous rakentavat yhteiskuntaa Keniassa. Se näkyy jokaisella yhteiskunnan tasolla, esimerkiksi perheiden, heimojen, läänien ja hallituksen keskuudessa. Jokainen taso muokkaa ja hallitsee tapaa, jolla kulttuuri ja luova talous rakentavat Kenian yhteiskuntaa. Kulttuurimuutoksessa ja luovan talouden muutoksessa yhteisön merkitys nousi tärkeäksi elementiksi, sillä yhteisö tarjoaa apua lieventämisessä ja sopeutumisessa uusiin tilanteisiin. Räjähdyksmäisen väestönkasvun myötä nuorten osuus kasvaa, ja kulttuurilla ja luovalla taloudella on potentiaalia tarjota työpaikkoja heille tulevaisuudessa.</p> <p>Kenian kulttuurilla ja luovalla taloudella on myös haasteita. Ensinnäkin on säilytettävä kulttuurinen monimuotoisuus Keniassa. Toiseksi on kohdistettava hallituksen politiikat oikeisiin toimiin ja ryhmiin, jotka siten tukisivat itse alaa. Nuorten merkitys yhteiskunnan rakentamisessa kulttuurin ja luovan talouden avulla on käännekohtassa Keniassa, sillä heidän asenteensa kulttuureihin on muuttumassa. Lisäksi hallituksen ja yhteisön välillä on suuri kuilu, mikä aiheuttaa paljon haittaa luovalle taloudelle, sillä politiikat eivät tue sektoria. Jos nämä merkittävät ongelmat ratkaistaan, kulttuurilla ja luovalla taloudella on valtava potentiaali jatkaa yhteiskunnan rakentamista Keniassa.</p> | | |
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1 Introduction

Creativity is an endless resource (Pangsy-Kania & Sokół, 2020), and the creative economy needs creativity and innovation, which are created by human interaction (Ghazi & Goede, 2017). Ghazi and Goede (2017) pointed out that for the creative economy to succeed, the people need to participate and be inspired by cultural life to be able to create in the creative economy. The best-known definition for the creative economy is made by UNCTAD (2020), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Based on UNCTAD, the creative economy has no single meaning, and the concept is constantly evolving. The constant elements are from human creativity, ideas and intellectual property, knowledge and technology. Creative industries are mainly based on knowledge-based economic activity, which includes music, film, video, arts and crafts, performing arts, photography, design, advertising, architecture, fashion, publishing, electronic publishing, computer games, software, research and development, TV and radio. These elements are the lifeblood of the creative economy, and they also have significant commercial and cultural value. For example, tourism is included in the creative economy because many creative industries are part of tourism.

Creative economy and creativity have a great potential to drive economic growth and local development (Boccella & Salerno, 2016; Pangsy-Kania & Sokół, 2020). Even though its share in the world economy is not substantial, it is constantly growing (UNESCO, 2019). Palanivel (2019) wrote that culture and the creative economy can develop inclusive societies and empower human development. Sung (2015) argued that the creative economy can even be defined as a policy that targets to achieve new growth through economic activities, which in return creates new markets and thus new jobs.

Mbaye and Pratt (2020) noted that creative work is competent and significant work, and culture can create and provide jobs, a sense of meaning, value, and enables identity and community development, as well as research. Creative industries have been identified as essential factors in the modern economy and are a promising source of growth and prosperity (Kong, 2014). Creative industries rely on creative individuals, who frequently have unique abilities and creative processes (Lampel & Germain, 2016).

Culture is at the core of the creative economy (Kong, 2014), it is resilient (Pratt, 2020) and can shape over time (Creanza, Kolodny, & Feldman, 2017). Culture has been identified as an effective factor in the development of the creative economy (Fachinelli, Carrillo, & D'Arísbo, 2014). Culture has a significant part in world development as well based on Schech and Haggis (2000), and it is central to our understanding of world development processes and the impacts coming from them, especially on their impact on society. Culture and the creative economy are often discussed in the same contexts, and they are indeed linked together (Kong, 2014). Both culture and creative sectors encourage innovation throughout the economy and contribute numerous other channels to achieve positive social impact, for example, good health, well-being and education (OECD, 2020).

Africa's cultural diversity is enormous. There is substantial variation within the continent, as well as within the countries in it. The cultures, especially tribe cultures, do not follow set national borders nonetheless extend beyond them. (Chigudu, 2018.) Okomu (2010) explained that the time of colonialism divided the continent into countries and the borders identify their national cultures, but according to Englebert, Tarango and Carter (2002), some tribes extend beyond the borders. Sá and Aixelá (2013) stated that the regional, linguistic, or any other frontier are still regulating the analysis of cultural diversity in African countries.

April and Shockley (2007) stated that Africa in recognizing the true potential of people, their strength of diversity in multiculturalism, and they have taken the role out of it. In Africa, there is vast cultural diversity among the continent and within the countries (UNESCO, 2019). Cultural diversity is known to have the potential to produce more productivity and competitive advantages, and Chigudu (2018) noted that cultural diversity in institutional contexts was a strong point. According to De Beukelaer (2014), peoples' and countries' cultural diversity and potential could and should be utilized in the creative economy. UNESCO (2019) found that many countries have not utilized the full potential of the sector. In the Global South, there is a lack of organized and quality documentation of the creative economy. In African studies, popular cultures are very well researched (see, for example, Barber 2018), but there is a lack of research concerning the creative economy. The conditions, for example, geographical and political situations differ primarily in sub-Saharan Africa,

and the local conditions matter to cultures and the creative economy. (Mbaye & Pratt, 2020.)

Tobler's (1970) first law of geography defines that: *"everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things."* Creativity is not place-bound even though there are clusters, and it has already been recognized in the 21st century that digitalization will change the creative economy (Gibson & Kong, 2005). Rosenberg and Brent (2020) and Mbaye and Pratt (2020) set an example in Nairobi and its digital creatives. According to Rosenberg and Brent (2020), Nairobi is an example of an African city, which is attracting creative workers both from inside and outside of the country, especially in information and communication technology. Nairobi is the economic hub of East Africa, where the term Silicon Savannah is linked to, and the city is full of opportunities, even though the incomplete infrastructure restricts the various business opportunities. Mbaye and Pratt (2020) pointed out, that Nairobi's intrinsic cultural value emphasizes an approach that differs from purely market-driven models of creative innovation in terms of community-based social innovation as an alternative to a view of the city's creative talents.

The creative economy is linked to Florida's (2002) theory on the creative class and the creative city. Florida argued that for urban growth it is essential to recruit well-educated workers for creative industries through cultural and aesthetic investment. This class then attracts investors and develops the economy. By developing an economy, the state can also be developed (Ollikainen & Pohjola, 2013). Florida (2002) based his theory on the cities in the United States, and typical quality features of venues that make Florida attractive to the creative class include, for example, easy access to a wide variety of outdoor activities and a clean, healthy environment. Mbaye and Pratt (2020) questioned the validity of this theory in sub-Saharan Africa and how the creative economy should be then understood in the Global South. The term is shaped in the Global North, and thus, it is not valid without application to countries and regions that are not at the same level of development as the countries in the Global North. Nairobi is classified as a creative city, even though it does not match Florida's definitions (Rosenberg & Brent, 2020). Also, according to Rosenberg and Brent (2020), the concept of place quality needs a reform, since their research on the quality of space differs significantly from Florida's point of view. In Sepe's and Trapani's

(2010) research, the conclusion was that to develop society in their case in urban and cultural regeneration in the creative cities, the need of integrating the local community into all processes is crucial in economic, social and environmental point of views.

Florida (2002) argued that creative class, and thus the creative economy, tend to cluster in one area, like in the city. Ghazi and Goede (2017) also found several clusters when discussing creativity, for example, cultural clusters in art and music. Rosenberg and Brent (2020) found out in their study in Nairobi that there is a prominent cluster of the creative class, and thus there is a booming technology and innovation scene in Nairobi, which are connected. The researchers also found clusters of the creative class along Ngong Road going West from the central business district.

There are several studies on culture and creative economy as society builders. Ghazi and Goede (2017) studied on an Iranian island and found a connection between the creative economy and economic growth. Pratt and Jeffcutt (2009) made a connection between creating jobs, social cohesion and economic growth when discussing creative industries. Sepe and Trapani (2010) noted that cultural sustainability and the involvement of the population are crucial elements in the creative economy, and Mbaye and Pratt (2020) in their study found out that creative work enables identity and community development. Palanivel (2019) justified that culture and creative economy can develop inclusive societies and empower human development. Mohamed (2020) studied Arab spring, the uprising movements against state governments and their policies in Northern Africa in 2010-2011, and how culture shaped the societies. As a result, Mohamed (2020) concluded that the creative economy was used as a weapon in the revolution, for instance, music, theater and visual arts were utilized as weapons as they expressed the words of how and why to change society. Art and culture play a significant role in promoting an open and tolerant society in Africa, since they cultivate roots in one's own identity and help to understand others (African Union Commission, 2015).

The importance of the culture and the creative economy has been noticed internationally as well. The United Nations (2019) declared the year 2021 for an *International Year of Creative Economy for Sustainable Development* at the 74th session of the UN General Assembly. According to UNCTAD (2020), the proposal recognized the need to foster sustainable and inclusive economic growth, promote

innovation and offer opportunities, benefits and empowerment for all. African Union (2020) respects creativity as well in 2021, and the theme for the year is *Year of the Arts, Culture and Heritage*.

1.1 Aim of the research and research questions

The main research question is to find out if culture and the creative economy build a society in Kenya. for example, do they have possibilities to create jobs, especially for the youth in Kenya. The population is growing in Kenya (World Bank, 2020), which means more jobs need to be provided for the nation, to keep citizens part of the society. World Bank (2020) predicts that the population in Kenya will be 85 million by 2050. The African Institute for Development Policy and the University of Southampton (2018) produced a research briefing note which argued especially that the share of the youth (aged 15–24) will increase, and by 2065 there will be 18 million Kenyan youth. The growing number of young people may perhaps also be seen in unemployment figures in the future. The unemployment rate in 2020 was 7.2%, and the share of the 20–24-year-olds was the highest. (KNBS, 2020.) According to many researchers (see, for example, Ghazi & Goede, 2017; De Beukelaer, 2014; Boccella & Salerno, 2016; Sung, 2015), the sector of the creative economy is growing on the global level, and it has the potential to provide the solution to the unemployment problem.

How to build a society for 85 million Kenyans with the meaning of human importance is at the core? There could be a massive chance, that the culture and the creative economy could create jobs, especially for the youth, and then build a society, for example, through the supply chain effect (Palanivel, 2019). Manyala (2016) stated, the youth could employ themselves through their culture and Primov, Abdullaev, Rakhmanov, Mahmudov and Burhanova (2020) noted, youth are a significant part of the change in society.

Kenya was chosen for the research target since there is a vast cultural diversity in the country, and in addition, the government has noticed this in their development blueprint (Kenya Vision 2030, 2020). Furthermore, there are officially 44 tribes in Kenya (MoSCA, 2020), 30 languages are spoken (Ingham, Ntarangwi, & Ominde, 2020), and the population is growing steadily (World Bank, 2020). Aside from this,

the capital city Nairobi is the leading city in the creative economy in East Africa (Rosenberg & Brent, 2020). A case study was conducted in two different geographical areas, in the city of Nairobi and the rural Taita-Taveta County.

The research questions are:

RQ1: How do Kenyans diverse culture and creative economy build a society in Kenya?

RQ2: What are the differences between urban and rural areas when dealing with the culture and the creative economy?

RQ3: What is the role of the government and the people in developing the creative economy in Kenya?

The following sub-questions were made to help to look deeper into the main research questions:

RQ1.1: What is the role of the Kenyan culture and in the creative economy?

RQ1.2: Do culture and the creative economy have a possibility to create jobs, especially to the youth?

RQ2.1: Has the success from Nairobi also spread to the environment, and is there a booming creative economy outside of Nairobi?

RQ2.2: Is Kenya all about the digital creative economy, or are there other forms of the creative economy?

RQ3.1: Is the creative economy formed by human-oriented desire in Kenya or vice versa, is Kenya's government building the creative economy, or what is the government's role?

The research will observe the topic from the geographical point of view with social, development, cultural and economic geography with a sustainable development perspective. These geographical views bring out different perspectives from

differently oriented people. By combining these fields of geography, the culture and the creative economy are studied from different angles to create the big picture of whether culture and the creative economy together build a strong and a sustainable society in Kenya. As De Beukelaer (2014) noted, the creative economy is more than the trade, while Kong (2014) stated that the culture is at the core of the sector. Kenya has succeeded to include cultural aspects and creative economy in their national blueprint Agenda 2030, but is it visible in society? Has the government managed to do policies to develop also the sector itself? And managed to build the society into sustainable direction? Or do the actions stay at the level of idea, but never reaching the communities?

As Mbaye and Pratt (2020) wrote, there is a lack of good and quality documentation of the creative economy and its relation to the cultures in Africa. Thus, this research will bring new information about the culture and the creative economy in Kenya.

1.2 Concepts

1.2.1 Creative economy

The creative economy has its roots in cultural and culture economy (Kong, 2014). According to Kong (2014), Ghazi and Goede (2017), the term has shifted from the culture industries to the cultural industries and the creative industries. In 1997, the use of the term creative industries became established (Kong, 2014), and since then one of the greatest difficulties has been to define the term (Gibson & Kong, 2005; Kong, 2014; Mbaye & Pratt, 2020; Pangsy-Kania & Sokół, 2020). UNCTAD released 2008 its first report from the creative economy which confirmed the booming effect of the sector in the global economy (Mbaye & Pratt, 2020), and since 2004 the organization has been working continuously on promoting development through creativity (UNCTAD, 2020). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO officially accepted the creative economy concept in 2009 in the context of cultural statistics (Mbaye & Pratt, 2020). Kong (2014) argued that the change of the terms has removed an essential core out of the sector, and that is the culture.

The definition for the creative economy by UNCTAD is the best known globally and most used (De Beukelaer, 2014), and that is why this definition is used in this research. Additionally, the Kenyan government and the private sector in the creative economy are using the same definition (Manyala, 2016). UNCTAD has managed to bring the creative economy to a global scale, and the data they produce is valued, and thus, the data is widely used (De Beukelaer, 2014). UNCTAD has succeeded in making the creative economy a global economic and development agenda, and the organization has the Creative Economy Program supporting this development. This program provides economic information from a commercial point-of-view to understand past trends and forward-looking projects and promotes a data-driven understanding of the creative economy's trade-in products and services, intellectual property, ideas, and imagination. UNCTAD believes that creative industries such as art, design, film, advertising, fashion and tourism create significant sources of income for developing countries. (UNCTAD, 2020.)

1.2.1.1 Digital creative economy

Digital technologies are used in the creative economy, and thus the digital creative economy term has evolved. It has changed the ways how many creative works are created, disseminated, spread and used since an increasing number of the elements of the creative economy can be produced in digital bytes. New fields are also created through the digital approach, such as video games. (Handke & Towse, 2013.) According to Lifintsev and Wellbrock (2019), digitalization has enabled small and medium enterprises to enter the global markets. In the traditional industries of the creative economy, the effects of digitalization are also felt. The impacts are felt more at the back-office tasks by bringing new services. Digitalization has made the sector of the creative economy more achievable, and it has tested and defied established business models. (Handke & Towse, 2013.)

UNCTAD (2020) predicts that the digital creative economy is rising. Digitalization has brought more diversification to the sector, for example, making it easier for customers to purchase products of the creative economy and the advertising is more easily targeted to specific groups. However, there are downsides to this, breaking the

maintenance systems, the transition from outdated products and services, deterioration of the existing knowledge and physical infrastructure, to name a few challenges that the digital creative economy faces.

The digital creative economy was mentioned in several articles on Kenya's creative economy (see, for example, Mbaye & Pratt 2020). Kenya, especially Nairobi, has developed its creative economy through digitalization (Rosenberg and Brent, 2020). The ICT field in Kenya has attracted technology-driven companies since the late 2000s (Guma & Monstadt, 2020). For example, Code for Africa (2021) and iHub (2021) have their offices in Nairobi. Code for Africa (2021) is working around civic technology and data journalism labs, and it has many offices in the African continent. The innovation hub, iHub (2021), provides co-working spaces for technology development, and it has been recognized as a regional technology acceleration and a role model. In the Kenya Vision 2030, the plans for Nairobi are to develop the city into a modern and world-class African metropolis by rapidly disseminating information and communication technologies and applying them innovatively in everyday life. Silicon Savannah is linked to this. (Guma & Monstadt, 2020.)

1.2.2 Culture

Culture is an ambiguous concept (Haggett, 2001). Williams (1976; 76) stated: *"Culture is one of the two or three most complicated word in the English language."* Williams (1976) explained this by saying that the word has historical development in several languages, and it was used in several significant concepts in different disciplines and incompatible systems of thought. The concept has a history and diversity, and it has changed over time. For instance, in Latin, the term culture is formed from *cultus*, which means in English *care*, and the term also has its roots in *cultivation* (Berger, 2000). Haggett (2001; 204): *"culture describes patterns of learned human behavior that form a durable template by which ideas and images can be transferred from one generation to another, or from one group to another."* Culture does not mean race, and in geography, the term *culture* refers to learned behaviors where ideas and images can be passed on. Thus, the intergenerational continuum is not genetic but arises from the interaction. Culture can be divided into three categories in

the Huxley model, mentifacts such as language and religion, sociofacts, for example, family relationships and educational culture, and artefacts, which include everything from clothing to farming practices. (Haggett, 2001.)

There are cultural differences in the world. A cultural area differs from its environment because of certain features, and the boundaries can be defined in many ways. (Haggett, 2001.) Balasubramanian (2018) summed that culture is a lifestyle that characterizes a group of people. Balasubramanian (2018) added that there are over a thousand cultures in the world that are enriching global diversity. One of the reasons for the existence of many cultures is that there are several ways for the ever-growing population to have a possibility to be culturally different.

According to Schinzel (2015) and Hoffman (2019), a cultural shift is in action. Schinzel (2015) researched cultural shifts in Luxembourg, France, and Germany, and found out that cultural shifts are in progress especially in Luxembourg and France. Globalization, digitalization and mobility were a few of the reasons for it. Hoffman (2019) studied the relationship between climate change and cultural shift and found connections between them. Adger, Barnett, Brown and Marshall (2013) pointed out the need for mitigation and adaptation in climate change, and especially the point of view that culture is a significant element in both activities. Adaptation is a process, where for example, animal species adapt to changing environment (Gittleman, 2019), and mitigation means an action, where something is made less harmful (Adnan, Ramli & Razak, 2015). Africa is a continent where climate change is expected to hit the hardest. One of the most significant factors is the land cover change, mainly clearing of forests and shrubs for agriculture use to secure food production for the world's fastest-growing population. As a consequence, the temperature is expected to increase by two Celsius degrees by the end of the century, and the impacts of climate change are already to be seen. Technology, which allows digitalization and globalization to spread with ease, is booming in East Africa. Especially Kenya has taken great leaps in that sector. (Vastapuu, Mattlin, Hakala & Pellikka, 2020.)

1.2.2.1 African culture

When talking about Africa, it is crucial to remember two things. First, Africa cannot be generalized into one region, because in general, African countries are different in economic changes, but also geographically, ethnically and linguistically (UNESCO, 2019). Secondly, history matters: colonialism by Europeans left its mark on Africa (Chigudu, 2018) when colonial rulers pushed local cultures down, and until now, the African countries are strengthening cultures which has proven to be challenging for many countries (UNESCO, 2019). “*Colonial wound*” (Mignolo, 2000; 3) is a definition, that regions and people around the world have been classified economically and mentally as underdeveloped. African countries are mostly still young and creating their identity. Dikarev (2020) noted that countries, such as China and Turkey, have become interested in Africa by investing and exploiting natural resources in many countries. This will affect the cultures in Africa.

Huntington (1996) divided the world into cultural areas, in which the African cultural area covers sub-Saharan Africa and its islands. This is a vast area with extensive biodiversity, cultural diversity and local knowledge, in which are links and feedbacks between nature and people. African culture includes different territories, climate conditions, lifestyles, languages and religions. (UNESCO, 2019.) Balasubramanian (2018) stated that the area is a mosaic of traditions and beliefs; however, the meaning of family, ancestors, community and religion matters in the whole area.

1.2.2.2 Kenyan culture

Kenya is a former British colony (Ingham et al., 2020), and the state is part of the African cultural area (Haggett, 2001). There are 44 recognized tribes by the government, and the Kenyan Asians are the latest recognized tribe (MoSCA, 2020). The authentic estimated number of ethnic groups is over 70 (Ingham et al., 2020). Balaton-Chrimes (2021) explained that the roots of the number of tribes are deep in politics. In the 1969 census, 42 tribes were calculated, in 2009, the number was three times higher. To explain the numbers, in all censuses 14 ethnic groups have been classified the same way, as tribes without sub-tribes. After the year of 1969, the government has recognized a few more tribes. Each ethnic group lives in their specific

areas (Kwach, 2019), from where they have started to migrate, due to, for instance, work and family reasons to larger cities (Vastapuu et al., 2020).

Kenya has a rich cultural heritage that is formed by indigenous groups (MosCa, 2020). In addition, the heritage has been influenced by the inland traffic from the coastal area for many decades (I. Soiri, personal communication, August 9, 2020). The cultural diversity of the state is enormous, and each tribe and group have their traditions, beliefs, practices and even languages, and they vary a lot due to geographical distance, for example. Also, geographical isolation due to highlands or arid areas, for example, have separated groups from each other. (MoSCA, 2020.) Bantu, Nilo-Saharan and Afro-Asiatic languages are the three main language groups. The official languages are Swahili and English, and additionally almost each tribe member speaks their own language, which is one of the main criteria for a tribe. The schools are, however, in English from primary school up to the university. The main religion is Christianity in its various forms, from catholic to various protestant churches, the Anglican Church of Kenya being the largest. The influence of Islam is strongest in the Coast Province, and in addition to many people have mixed local natural religions and beliefs with Christianity. (Ingham et al., 2020.)

Even though Kenya is globalized and digitalized, the state is carefully protecting the oral genetic information and its status is secured by collecting information and protecting it, according to the Kenyan government (MoSCA, 2020). Kenyans are proud of their roots and traditions, and they appreciate their rich cultural heritage which is built from different groups and tribes (Ingham et al., 2020).

1.2.3 Building of society

Broadly understood, society is a group of people who live together in an organized way and make decisions on how to do things and share the tasks. All the people in a state, or even in several similar countries, or smaller groups, can be called *a society*. For example, Maclver and Page (1950) define society as following: “*Society is a web of relations, a complex system of usages and procedures, of authority and mutual aid of many groupings and divisions, of control of human behavior and of liberties*” and Giddens (2000) in the other hand stated: “*a society is a group of people who live in a*

particular territory, are subject to a common system of political authority, and are aware of having a distinct identity from other groups around them”.

To build a society in this research is referred to as following: what different communities’ tribes, counties and state do to build their society by using the culture. In this research, culture is at the core, and its way to express itself through the creative economy is researched. As Kong (2014) referred, culture is at the core of the creative economy, and there have been several studies that culture builds a reliable and sustainable society (see, for example, Mohamed 2020; Ghazi and Goede 2017; Boccella and Salerno 2016).

1.3 Background and existing literature

Africa is undergoing a demographic change and the population is expected to grow, especially in sub-Saharan Africa where the population is expected to double by the year 2050 according to Vastapuu et al. (2020) and UNESCO (2019). Although the birth rate is declining, the population will continue to grow significantly, and the continent will have the largest share of young people on the Earth, and consequently, the largest share of the working population. In Africa, 95% of young people (United Nations (2020) definition for youth is the 15-24-year-old people) work in the informal economy, and 48% of the population live in extreme poverty (UNESCO, 2019). The population in Kenya is expected to reach 85 million by 2050 (World Bank, 2020) and the share of the youth will be 18 million in 2065 (The African Institute for Development Policy and the University of Southampton, 2018).

The unemployment rate in Kenya in the third quarter of 2020 was 7.2% (see Figure 1). The largest share was with 20–24-year-olds with 17.6%, and the second largest was 25–29-year-olds with 10.7%. The share of 15–19-year-olds was 3%, and the lowest value was 0.6% with 60–64-year-olds. Tourism and exports of agricultural products are the state’s largest sources of income in Kenya. (KNBS, 2020.) The creative economy is a sector, which is growing. Manyala (2016, p.3) noted that the sector “*is seen as a growing sector for economic growth and development.*” The sector has a great potential to provide work, according to Sung (2015). Sung noted that the creative

economy is one of the fastest-growing sectors globally in terms of economy, export earnings and job creation.

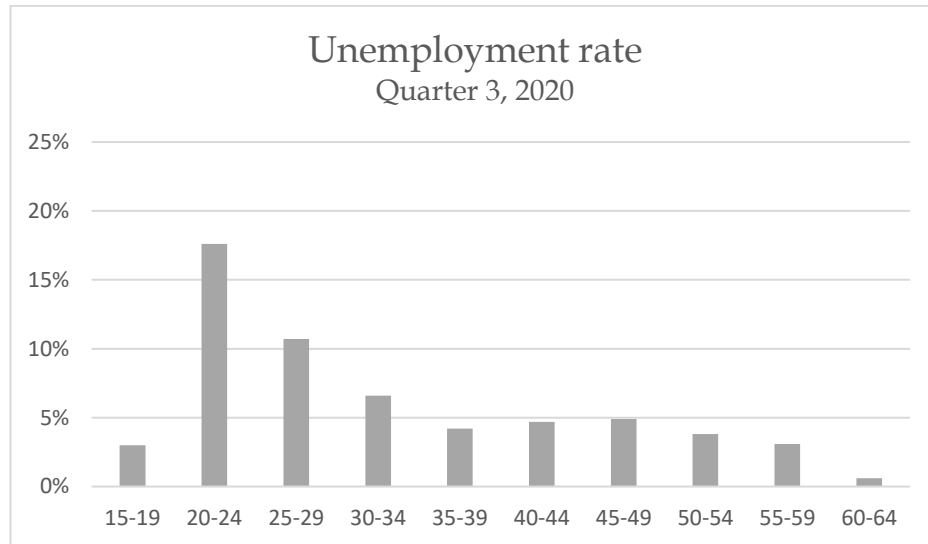


Figure 1. The unemployment rate in Kenya, the 3rd quarter in 2020. The total number of unemployed is 1 368 606. Source: KNBS (2020).

Without work, people tend to migrate. In Africa, 80% of the continent's migration takes place inside of Africa, mostly due to family reasons, work and study (Vastapuu et al., 2020). Rosenberg and Brent (2020) listed few reasons why people tend to move to Nairobi: social capital and the opportunities that the city provides, especially in the ICT field. In addition, Nairobi attracts because it is a research and development capital of Africa with two United Nations headquarters, the United Nations Environmental Programme and the United Nation Human Settlements Programme (United Nations, 2021), and with headquarters of several foreign aids and research organizations, for example, China-Africa Development Fund, World Bank, International Union for Conservation of Nature and International Livestock Research Institute. These are the pulling factors to some people. (Rosenberg & Brent, 2020.)

Murphy, Shleifer and Vishny (1989) saw the physical infrastructure as a relevant prerequisite for industrialization and economic development. For example, Mahmud and Sawada (2018) studied the impact of the Jamuna bridge in Bangladesh in helping people to commute. They found out that the project decreased household unemployment. Canning and Pedroni (2008) showed that the infrastructure tends to

cause long-term economic growth, but there is still vary between countries. Rosenberg and Brent (2020) discussed the infrastructure, urbanization and creative economy in Kenya, and concluded that Nairobi's infrastructure should not support economic growth, but nevertheless, it does. They justified their argument with the term quality of place, because Nairobi is constantly hampered by traffic jams, poor air quality, and poor infrastructure causing daily power outages, for example. The quality of the locations in Nairobi tends to vary a lot, and Florida's (2002) theory about creative class does not occur there (Rosenberg & Brent, 2020).

The infrastructure is incomplete in Nairobi (Rosenberg & Brent, 2020), and there are shortcomings across the whole country. The Port of Mombasa is one of the busiest ports in Africa, and it is one of the main thoroughfares to East Africa. (Briceno-Garmendia & Shkaratan, 2010.) Nairobi-Mombasa road goes all the way from Mombasa to Nairobi and continues from Nairobi to the border of Uganda. Thousands of trucks travel daily from the Port of Mombasa towards inland Kenya and further to other countries. One of the towns by this road is Voi in the Taita-Taveta County. (Gichaga, 2016.) According to Briceno-Garmendia and Shkaratan (2010), there has been clustering of Kenya's population among the Nairobi-Mombasa road making the rural areas more accessible, but at the same time, there are problems in the rural areas. For example, water supply is not efficient enough and electricity is less reliable compared to urban areas. These issues are reflected in society and the economy. Briceno-Garmendia and Shkaratan (2010) argued that lack of financing is one of the main flaws to improve the infrastructure in Kenya.

Rosenberg and Brent (2020) stated that people working in the creative sector in Nairobi were continually frustrated by the infrastructure disruptions. On the other hand, they also thought that the city was still an attractive city to live in and work in the creative industry. According to Ondimu (2002), Kenya also attracts lots of tourists, mostly due to wildlife and beach-based attractions. Cultural tourism diversifies Kenyan tourism, and professionals in tourism have begun to take advantage of this. Some communities in Kenya, for example, the Gusii community, are concerned about the loss of their cultural heritage in the future as the government does nothing to preserve it. The Gusii community has started to make an effort by themselves and preserves some remnants of their heritage in the annual community cultural shows.

Musterd (2004) saw the positive effect between the creative economy and tourism and world trade in creative cities.

In their article, Ghazi and Goede (2017) questioned, what does the government do to help the creative sector? The reason they questioned the government's actions was what they found in their case study on Kish Island. They found out that more special policies and development strategies are needed to be done to utilize the full potential of the creative sector. According to Bae and Yoo (2015), many countries are trying to strategically support the transition of their economy to the creative economy, in which creative industries play a significant role. Kong (2014) stated that many governments have included creative industries into their future planning, for example, through economic strategies. Kong (2014) noted increasing interest from scientists in the creative economy as well, for example, by popularizing and disseminating scientific results (see, for example, Rikkinen, Pellikka, & Laine, 2015).

Kong (2014) argued that the change of the term creative economy and its ambiguity of definition has made it difficult for the sector to keep up with the policies and research. De Beukelaer (2014) found out that many countries have added creative economy as a strategic element in sustainable development. For instance, Burkina Faso included the cultural industries in its national development strategy in a significant role, while China has focused on the cultural and creative industries since 2001. Thus, it can be concluded that some countries are doing well in this, but others not (De Beukelaer, 2014). It is also evident in UNCTAD's creative economy reports and UNESCO's periodic reports on the 2005 Convention on the Protecting and Promoting of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO, 2020b). Kenya has done many policies to help the growing sector, the creative economy, for example, with regulations to help local content's broadcasting on television and radio. In addition, the government actively participates in cultural exchanges to learn the cultural policies of other countries. It remains to be seen whether these policies are seen among the communities, and whether the policies reach the people?

Ghazi and Goede's (2017) stated that the world could not have overcome the financial and economic crisis that started in 2007-2008 without the creative economy. Sung (2015) stated that after the Great Recession there was a shift in the global economy towards innovative technologies and creative ideas, and thus the creative economy.

Crises require adaptation to a new norm that requires creative solutions and thus to the creative economy. According to Ghazi and Goede (2017), it was believed until the crisis in 2007-2008 that a knowledge-based economy is the most efficient tool against the crisis, but the truth was something different. COVID-19 pandemic shocked the world in 2019, and the World Health Organization WHO declared the epidemic as a pandemic in March 2020 (WHO, 2020). This pandemic has affected the creative economy gradually (OECD, 2020). According to OECD (2020), the sector is one of the most affected sectors by the pandemic, and especially in the large cities, the jobs are at risk. In his article, Pratt (2020) points out that COVID-19 has created also new opportunities, for instance, the opportunity to address and hopefully change the systemic problems of insecurity and injustice in the urban cultural economy. For the researchers, this provides unexpected and unwanted opportunities to identify a cultural heart attack, and it also offers a unique chance to witness the new normal. Digitalization evolved by great leaps during the pandemic, and COVID-19 is the enabler for this. (Gabryelczyk, 2020.)

In Kenya, the creative economy and its share of the state's GDP have increased. Studies from Kenya have raised the importance of digitalization to the pedestal in the creative economy (see, for example, Rosenberg and Brent 2020). Kenyans are proud of their roots and want to bring this to the fore in every area of life. But is the Kenyan culture shown enough in the field of the creative economy?

1.3.1 Culture and the creative economy in Kenya

This chapter is based on the reports from the Kenyan blueprint the Kenya Vision 2030 (2020), the UNCTAD's Creative Economy Report (UNCTAD, 2018), UNESCO's periodic reports from Kenya on the 2005 Convention on the Protecting and Promoting of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO, 2020b), UNESCO's data (UNESCO, 2020a) and data found from Kenya National Bureau of Statistic (KNBS, 2020). As Ghazi and Goede (2017) stated, there are several elements to be considered when analyzing and talking about the issues related to the creative economy and its industries, and there is a need of the data and statistics to measure the progress and to create a base to the policies and further programs. Kong (2014) noted that good and

valid data support the topic, but there is a need for a critical point of view towards the data. New creative industries are constantly being added, and they might not be in the classification, and thus the data is not accurate.

Kenya Vision 2030 (2020) ensures that the national heritage in all its forms is preserved, enhanced and passed on to future generations in the form of human experience and aspirations, ensuring creativity in all its diversity and inspiring genuine dialogue between and beyond Kenya's diverse culture. The importance of innovation in creating opportunities especially for youth and women is recognized in the Kenya Vision 2030, and according to Manyala (2016), Kenya's creative economy offers opportunities especially for Kenyan youth in the cities and provinces. Even though there is an increase the interest in the creative economy in Kenya, the country still has its challenges. Kenya's challenges to promote the cultural and creative industries include insufficient funding, lack of national cultural statistics, exclusion of creative arts and culture from the education system, insufficient awareness of decision-makers about the importance and role of culture in sustainable development, and inadequate cultural policies in a globalizing world. (UNESCO, 2020b.)

As we can see from Table 1, exports were almost 41 million US\$ in 2013, the latest year when records were available. The performing arts, visual arts and cultural heritage were the largest creative industries in Kenya. Films, videos, television and radio programs, video games, music and books were emerging sectors, and fashion was predicted to be a significant growth driver. (UNCTAD, 2018.) It is visible from Table 1 that there are gaps. The gaps are from the insufficient documentation of the creative economy. Manyala (2016) argued, that Kenya's rich cultural heritage must be harnessed to promote national economic growth, and the sectors that do so are counted in the cultural economy. Here we can see the difference between the classification and the results from it. Others count all the industries that use culture in the definition of the creative economy, but UNCTAD (2020) has a specific classification to the economy and its industries.

Table 1. Creative industries trade performances in Kenya between 2005-2013. Values are in million US dollars. Source: UNCTAD Creative Economy Outlook and Country Profile report 2018.

Creative industries trade performance (2005-2013)

| <i>Year</i> | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 |
|-------------------------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|------|------|---------|
| <i>Exports</i> | 26,98 | 37,34 | 44,84 | 56,83 | 52,89 | 53,15 | - | - | 40,92 |
| <i>Imports</i> | 115,15 | 132 | 131,86 | 181,92 | 175,25 | 214,71 | - | - | 196,11 |
| <i>Balance of trade</i> | -88,17 | -94,66 | -87,02 | -125,09 | -122,36 | -161,56 | - | - | -154,19 |

Finance for East Africa's Creative Economy, HEVA (2020), supports and encourages cultural and heritage start-ups in Kenya. HEVA works together with different partners in different funds, for example, they launched East Africa Creative Business Fund with the European Commission and Agence Française de Développement (AFD), and Cultural Heritage Seed Fund is in collaboration with the British Council. HEVA has invested in more than 40 creative economy targets and directly supported more than 8 000 creative economy implementers in live music, fashion and digital content and television. Among creative industries, it is important to point out, that the National Parks of Kenya hold a great amount of the state's greatest cultural heritage. Some of the parks are listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List with some others totaling to. Nine sites in Kenya are on the list. (UNESCO, 2020a.) Nature, and thus national parks, are important for Africans because there are links between people and nature (Huntington, 1996). Some opposition occurs as well, like in Taita-Taveta County, which land is 62% under Tsavo national parks owned by the government. Locals are not allowed to use their ancestral land for economic purposes, and at the same time, they are the ones who are also suffering from human-wildlife conflicts. (Munayo et al. 2020.) Additionally, the money from the national parks goes to the government of Kenya, and not to the county. (Muingi, 2019.). On the other hand, tourism is a big business for the county (Vento, 2017).

Reliable data is the key element when developing the sector, and KNBS has general good statistics, but the culture and creative economy statistics are mostly from multiple external sources and may not be reliable (Kamara, 2017). Although UNCTAD reports are known worldwide, they have received some criticism. They categorize countries in developing and developed differently compared to Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). For example, in UNCTADs data from Burkina Faso and China are categorized into the same group, even though they are at different levels when discussing the creative economy, and the countries have done different policies to improve the sector. (De Beukelaer, 2014.) Mbaye and Pratt (2020) stated that the creative economy should not be seen as a creative industry or reduced to it. De Beukelaer (2014) argued that creative economy is more than the trade, and the industries should be seen as a part of a holistic set that aims to advance human development.

Aroalho (2020) stated that Kenya has recognized the importance of culture and the creative economy as a builder of society, and the country's digital expertise is great. The results were based her results to the data found online. This research will bring new points to the topic of the culture and the creative economy and broaden up the results from the grassroots level.

1.3.2 Policy framework in Kenya

Kenya has developed the state as planned since 2008 with a national long-term development blueprint called the Kenya Vision 2030. The Kenya Vision 2030 is based on the government's belief that culture and national heritage are considered one of the most important pillars of sustainable development in its national policies. This vision will enrich Kenya's international cooperation, especially in the context of digitalization. (Kenya Vision 2030, 2020; UNESCO, 2020b.) The state has succeeded in the field of digitalization, and already in 2007 Kenya invented a mobile-phone-based finance service, M-Pesa and is constantly evolving in the field (Rosenberg & Brent, 2020). Kenya has managed to unite digitalization and creative economy, and the state has been building a state-of-the-art ICT park, Konza Technology City, on the

Nairobi-Mombasa road, some 70 kilometers from Nairobi on the savanna plains (Rosenberg & Brent, 2020). Kamara (2017) pointed out, that Konza may become a new creative center in Kenya.

Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage, MoSCA (2020), is taking care of Kenya's rich national and cultural heritage. The ministry is still young, and it was only established in 2013 when it was reformed from three different divisions. The policy framework is improving, and Kenya has succeeded in raising awareness of the creative economy and has been developing the sector for several years. For example, in 1990 the Nairobi Action Plan for the Cultural and Creative Industries was signed, and the term creative economy was actively used in 2011 when Pan-African network of cultural organizations called the Arterial Network launched the first African Creative Economy Conference in Nairobi. (Mbaye and Pratt, 2020.) In 2005, Kenya signed UNESCO 2005 convention, which was a big step in the state's improvement, and Kenya also has taken part in UNCTAD's Creative Economy Reports since 2008. (UNESCO, 2020b.)

Kenya has many creative industries and sports talent that should be harnessed and nurtured to develop a rich and vibrant industry. In recent years, according to Kamara (2017), the government's interest in promoting Kenya's cultural sector has grown, and the goals have focused specifically on the employment potential of youth in the cultural industry, and thus a lot of data has been collected on the subject. Especially, languages, music and dances have been documented by the government (UNESCO, 2020b). As it was visible in Table 1, there are still challenges in collecting the data. Between 2007 and 2009, the value of the creative economy was 5.3% of the GDP, while the estimate for the year 2020 was 10% (Manyala, 2016). Soiri (I. Soiri, personal communication, August 9, 2020) pointed out the potential of the new innovative young generation that has been recognized in Kenya.

Kenya Vision 2030 is one of the prominent improvements in Kenya on paper (Kenya Vision 2030, 2020), and the vision promises good things. It is yet to be seen how this will work on the grassroots level. Because according to UNESCO (2020b), Kenya still has many lacks in their policy framework considering fields of culture and creative economy. Their policies, foundational training for creative industries and copyright issues are lacking behind. Also, for example, business skills, recognition of the sector

and documentation needs improvements. According to several texts and posts by Kenyans (see, for example, Muchunu 2020), there is a gap between the government and the communities. Many organizations are working on making the gap smaller between the government and the community, for example, Arts Centre called GoDown (2021). Non-profit organization GoDown is working on copyright awareness through courses, for instance.

2 Case study in Kenya

The case study was conducted in Kenya during January and February of 2021. The duration of the fieldwork was four weeks. The topic was chosen due to its timeliness. The world is globalizing rapidly, and the population is increasing. Digitalization is one of the modern world's megatrends, and the new generation is "living-online". The knowledge and data are traveling fast, and the results show that new generations are interested in intercultural communication. (Lifintsev & Wellbrock, 2019.) There will be a massive demand for jobs in the future in Kenya, as the population is growing and especially the share of the youth is increasing (The African Institute for Development Policy and the University of Southampton, 2018). Freud (1930) wrote already in the early 20th century that work gives you a safe place in a part of human reality, in the human community.

The creative economy, especially the digital creative economy, is booming in Nairobi according to the statistics and researchers. The creative economy is raising its significance as well at the global level. (UNCTAD, 2018.) Ethnic diversity is enormous in Kenya, and the government takes it seriously in its developing strategies (Kenya Vision 2030, 2020). Culture and the creative economy could be the tools that could create work for the youth, and then build a society from the grassroots level.

2.1 Geographical research area

The research was conducted in two different geographical areas in Kenya, in the City of Nairobi and the Taita-Taveta County. These areas were chosen because of the

differences in their locations, sizes, their urban and rural statuses and naturally in their differences in cultural diversities. The counties are shown in Figure 2. The population in Nairobi in 2019 was approximately 4,4 million, and in Taita-Taveta the same year there were approximately 340 000 people. The geographical areas differ as well, Taita-Taveta is approximately 17 000 km² and Nairobi 700 km² of an area. Nairobi is in the central part of the state near the Rift Valley, and Taita-Taveta is in the southern part of the state. (KNBS, 2020.) The time spend in Taita-Taveta county was 17 days and in Nairobi 11 days.

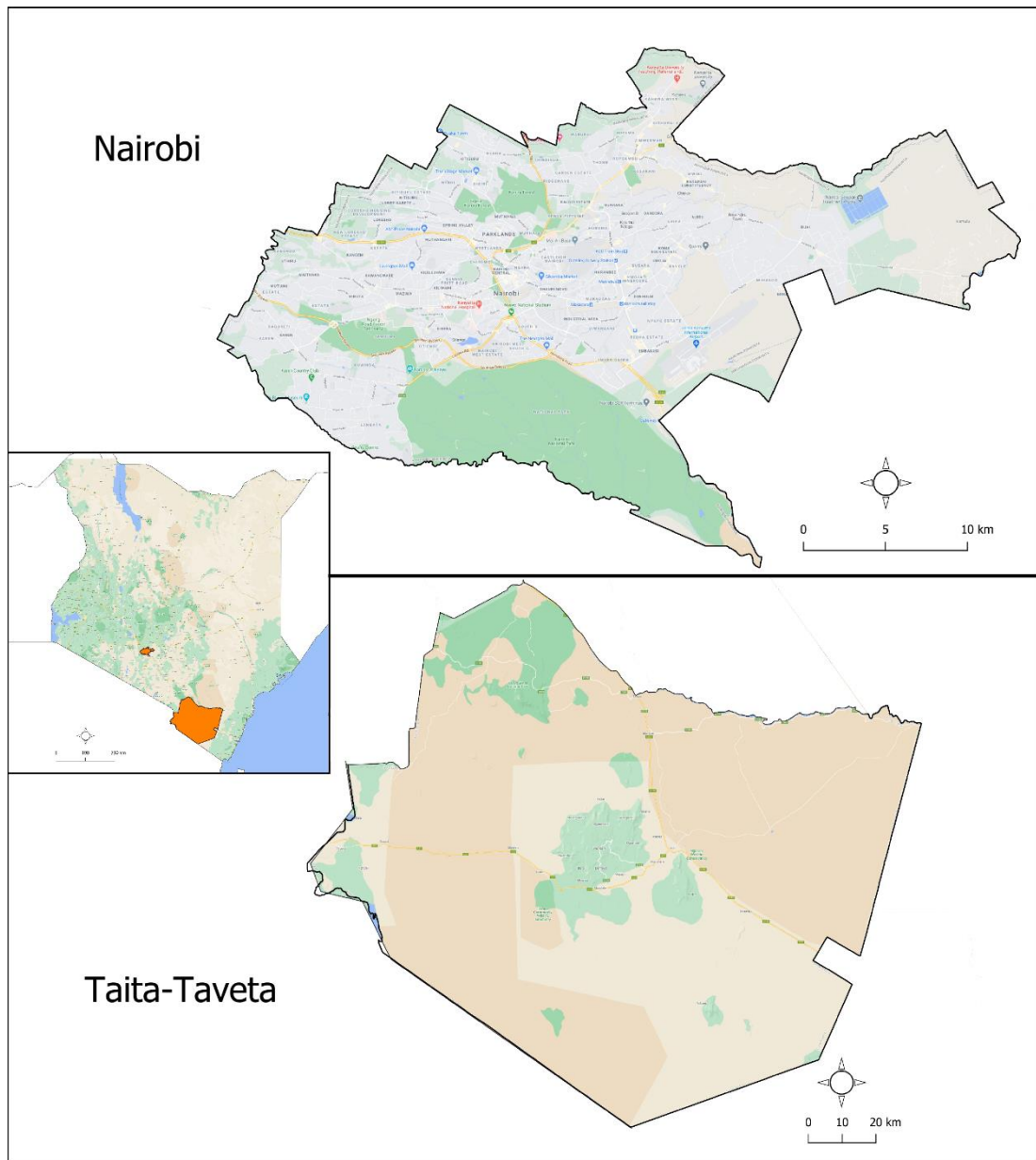


Figure 2. Nairobi and Taita-Taveta in Kenya. © Sari Aroalho.

According to Kwach (2019), there is cultural diversity in Kenyan counties. For example, Nairobi is an urban area, where the cultural diversity is vast. Nairobi is in the Kikuyu tribe area, and Kamba and Kisii tribes are nearby. NASA (n.d.) set an example with Nairobi on urbanization, which is common in Africa when particularly the young generations move to the cities to find work. Thus, Nairobi's cultural diversity is formed mostly through immigration, and it does not limit to the nearest tribes. According to Open County (2021), in Taita-Taveta there are three main tribes: Taitas, Sagallas and Tavetas. With two chosen locations in different geographical areas, the results for this research will express differences between urban and rural areas as well.

Infrastructure and traffic jams in Nairobi are appalling, and mobility in the city has been a political concern for several years (Rosenberg and Brent, 2020). This was proven to be true during the stay in Nairobi, since constant changes in schedule and locations. Then again, Taita-Taveta's vast size made it impossible to conduct the study in the whole inhabited county area. Taita-Taveta is divided into four sub-counties: Taveta, Wundanyi, Mwatate and Voi. These sub-counties are divided into sub-locations. KNBS collects data for the counties by classification. (KNBS, 2020.) In Taita-Taveta County, three main towns and their surroundings were selected: Voi, Mwatate and Wundanyi (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Three main locations in Taita-Taveta County: Voi, Mwatate and Wundanyi. Source: Google Satellite. © Sari Aroalho.

Voi located next to Nairobi-Mombasa road is the largest town in the county. The road is crowded, and there are daily heavy traffic flows (Gichaga, 2016). The population in 2019 was 53 000. Mwatate, the county capital, is located 25 kilometers from Voi towards to West to the border of Tanzania and its population was 9 000 in 2020. (KNBS, 2020). Wundanyi is located up on the Taita Hills, about 17 kilometers from Mwatate up to North, and 40 kilometers from Voi and the population in 2019 was 4 000 (KNBS, 2020). Determining the sizes of the town centers was not an easy task because of KNBS classification. Thus, the sizes are for the following: Mwatate is around 0,343km², Wundanyi 0,044 km², and the area of Voi where the marketplace is, is 0,084 km². In the sub-counties, Voi is the largest one, and thus there are many sub-locations, and thus it seems like Mwatate is larger which is not true. Populations tell a more realistic value. (County Government of Taita Taveta, 2018.)

Wundanyi is the most remote location from these three places in terms of accessibility. The altitude of the town is 1400 meters above sea level, while Voi is at 580 meters and Mwatate at 840 meters (KNBS, 2020). Wundanyi's altitude makes the area cool and yearly rainfall with more than 1 000 mm makes it suitable for intensive agriculture and horticulture, and in Voi, the rainfall is less than 600 mm. (Liu et al., 2021). Voi is a gateway to Tsavo East National Park, which has made the hotel and tourism business significant (Vento, 2017). The business is growing, and hotels, restaurants and shops and stalls appear in the street view to an increasing extent. Mwatate's business has mainly been affected by the Teita Sisal Estate which is located near to the town. (County Government of Taita Taveta, 2018.)

2.2 Ethical questions and COVID-19 during the fieldwork

Chatfield et al. (2020) discussed in their article about the research ethics in Kenya. One of the points was cultural sensitivity, which is an important part of this research. Also, fairness, respect, care and honesty were under consideration. As long as this research does not do any harm to the environment, or the people, and respects them both, there should not be any problems.

The length of the fieldwork affects the results. According to Chatman (1984), and it is important to have long-term and personal experience with events occurring in natural

conditions. Jorgensen (1989) stated that the researcher has as many roles as necessary to achieve at least a comfortable level of connection, even familiarity, between people, situations, and research conditions. The length may also affect the observation results as the awareness grows with time. On the other hand, a too-long stay may also create tiredness. These points were well thought in advance, and they were considered during the research by keeping the focus on the research and taking the necessary moments of rest.

The fieldwork in Kenya was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic. WHO (2020) declared COVID-19 as a pandemic in March 2020, and OECD (2020) reported that the pandemic greatly affected the creative economy. HEVA (2020) has reported on how the creative economy in Kenya has managed through the pandemic, and it has been difficult.

Due to the pandemic, the research questions and research areas had to be chosen carefully. The initial plans changed many times due to restrictions. During the stay in Kenya, there was a curfew between 10 pm to 4 am, and wearing face masks was mandatory. Some locations that were planned to visit, were closed. The situation was constantly changing, and there was a need to be ready for any change. The most important thing was to stay safe and make sure that people around were protected as well. COVID-19 situation did not affect the results although the initial plans changed, the necessary information was collected.

3 Methodology

This research combines elements from the ethnographical, hermeneutical and critical approaches. Ethnographical research is a descriptive research of a particular human society and is mostly based on fieldwork with a target to understand an overall understanding of the phenomenon. Hermeneutical research enables making an in-depth understanding of the topic by research texts, culture and art, for example, the method emphasizes subjective interpretations. Critical research is needed to understand the possible inconsistencies in what may be found in the results. The

element provides the freedom to be critical to the topic under research. (University of Jyväskylä, 2020.)

Qualitative research methods were used to conduct this research. Hay (2000) mentioned that while using qualitative research methods in human geography, the researchers are collecting data about human behavior and perception. The topic focused on the core of the creative economy, the culture, and its reflections on Kenya's creative economy. According to Brundson (2018) in human geography, data is related to people, and for example, to the economy and social well-being, and the scale provides a precise definition of a scale to map something abstract or physical to a numerical value. Hanell (2019) argued that the governance of society is no longer able to function without quantitative indicators, and in numbers, there is always politics. Velleman and Wilkinson (1993, p.7) stated: *"Experience has shown in a wide range of situations that the application of proscribed statistics to data can yield results that are scientifically meaningful, useful in making decisions, and valuable as a basis for further research."* DeLyser and Sui (2012) noted that geographers have begun to use more digital data in their studies.

3.1 Qualitative methods

Two types of interviews and observatory were used as qualitative methods. These methods gave different angles to view the topic under research. Interviews gave the individual informant's point of view to the topic as well as numerical data and results that were used in a visual form. Observation gave a chance to survey the topic from the researcher's point of view. The combination of qualitative methods with numerical data through interviews produced a comprehensive analysis of the results.

3.1.1 Interviews

As Dowling, Llyod and Suchet-Pearson (2016) noted, qualitative methods in human geography, especially using interviews, increase understanding of the subject under study. The researchers argued that the interviews are still the basis, and they are used to supplement or complement other means of approaching, analyzing, and interfering

in social life. DeLyser and Sui (2013) noted the meaning of the detailed interviews as the key methods of qualitative geographical research in a digitalized world, and Dowling et al. (2016) pointed out that interviews help to understand economic and political geography.

Two types of interviews were used in this research. The first type was unstructured interviews. McLeod (2014) stated that unstructured interviews are more flexible than structured ones because the results may be more in-depth when the interviewee can choose their own words, and they can tell the answers they want. Also, answers were obtained to topics that might not have been asked because the interviewees had a free word. McLeod (2014) argued that unstructured interviews come with restrictions, for example, the analysis of the data may take a lot of time. Also, there might be a situation where the interviewee does not have much to say, and there might not be any answers to the research questions.

The interview questions to the unstructured interviews were formed around themes. These themes were related to the Kenyan and local cultures and the creative economy in Kenya (see Annex 1). Even though unstructured interviews were used, the themes were the same and from each informant answers to similar topics were received. The interview situation was made as comfortable as possible by interviewing the informant in the form of a discussion. Also, by recording the interviews the conversation went naturally because there was no need to write the answers. Transcribing was made from the records. The aim was to obtain further information about the topic under research.

The other type of interview was structured interviews, where numerical data was collected from three different locations in Taita-Taveta County. The linkages between cultural diversity and business were researched using structured interviews aiming to find if cultural diversity plays a role in the creative economy in the market areas of Voi, Mwatate and Wundanyi towns. In Nairobi, there were too many marketplaces to carry out the interviews and choosing only one or two would have been a poor geographical sampling. For this reason, a comparison between Taita-Taveta and Nairobi is not possible. The aim was to study if Tobler's first law of geography (1970) applies to the cultures in Taita-Taveta.

As already referred by Brundson (2018) and Hanell (2019), statistics will add value to the qualitative methods. Statistics for this research were acquired by structured interviews. McLeod (2014) emphasized the same questions and the same order of questions where closed-ended questions are used. In this method, the informants were only asked their tribe and what they were selling in the marketplace (see Annex 2). Dunn (2007) stated that it is important to distinguish different dimensions of indigenous knowledge. According to McLeod (2014), the downsides to this method are the inflexibility and that the results are only quantitative. Strengths are that the results are comparable, the interviews are quick, and the reliability of the answers is easy to confirm. The data was collected from 25 informants from each town totaling to 75 informants. The results were written on paper and later transferred to Excel for further analysis. QGIS was used to develop visualizations.

By combining two types of interviews in two types of situations both qualitative and quantitative results were formed. After the interviews and transcribes, analysis of the data collected was the next to be in order to find what were the major findings that arose and how did they explain the main research questions. The differences and similarities in the answers were lifted and entities were formed from the answers.

3.1.2 Observation

Observation, a complex ethnographic research method, provides a local point of view to the topic under research and gives a possibility to conclude. This method is according to Baker (2006) one of the least intrusive methods of data collection. Observation is considered often an essential part of qualitative research, as it gives the researcher a better understanding of the field from the perspective of the informants (Kiviniemi, 2015). This method was mainly used alongside the interviews. The role of observation was active during the interviews, and outside of the interview situations, the role was an outsider. According to Baker (2006), the main questions in the observation are: who, what, where and when, which were also used in the observation method of this thesis.

The observation was used constantly during the fieldwork. Notes were made in action either on the phone or written down in a memo. A summary was written after each

day. After the field trip, the bigger picture was built using questions such as who, what, where and when. This method gave detailed information to the research questions, and at the same time, the method gave the researcher the freedom to interpret phenomena freely. This method increased the risk of whether the phenomena were interpreted correctly.

3.2 Data and materials

Both primary and secondary data were used. Primary data was collected in Kenya through interviews and observations giving a new approach to culture and the creative economy in Kenya. According to Mbaye and Pratt (2020), there is a demand for good and quality data about the cultures and the creative economy. This thesis will add information from those two points, and the data collected from the field will support this.

Secondary data, such as existing literature and research from the creative economy and the cultures in Kenya, was used to support and broaden the findings from fieldwork. The literature was found from Scopus and Google Scholar. The data produced by KNBS, UNESCO, UNCTAD and British Council were used found from their websites.

The term creative economics, as mentioned earlier, is derived from the term creative industries. However, creative economies are also referred to as cultural industries. (Ghazi & Goede, 2017.) The term differs depending on who has written the article or research, and every country and indicator defines the creative economy and creative industries differently and depending on the location the definition changes (Gibson & Kong, 2005; Kong, 2014). As mentioned earlier, UNCTADs definition of the creative economy is used in this research, and their reports and data as well.

3.3 Informants and interviews

The total number of informants was 99, out of which 24 informants took part in unstructured interviews, and 75 took part in the structured interviews in the Taita

marketplaces. Within those 24 interviews, there was one group interview, where all the informants represented the same business group, and the interview was concluded into the unstructured interviews. Most of the interviews were one-on-one. In Nairobi, 5 out of 24 interviews were conducted, and the rest in Taita. An interpreter was needed in most of the interviews, and three interpreters were used during the research. The English language skills varied with the interviewees and with the interpreters. The most considerable skill was the language skills, which were needed particularly from the interpreters. If they understood the questions wrong, the answers did not match the questions. Cultural differences were considered during this research, and the differences were respected.

Permission to record the interviews was requested in every 24 unstructured interviews, and 19 informants allowed the recording. In five situations, the recording was not possible. In two cases, the location and the background noise made it impossible to record. Due to COVID-19, a social distance was kept, which made it impossible to record speaking from afar in a group interview. In one interview, the interviewee did not allow the recording, and in one case, the recording system failed. In these interviews, the interview was written down and finalized right after the interview.

The average length of the 24 unstructured interviews was 22 minutes. The shortest interview took 8 minutes, while the longest one was 52 minutes. The duration of the interview varied a lot depending on if the interpreter was needed or not, or if the interviewee spoke fluent English, and as well if the informant wanted to share more information. Structured interviews took a shorter time because the questions were only about the tribe the interviewee belonged to and what was their business in the market.

In structured interviews, the informants were selected randomly. From the 24 unstructured interviews, 11 were organized beforehand, while 13 were random picks. The reason for the organized and random selections was to receive authentic results. The backgrounds and professions of the informants in the organized interviews, which were targeted to support the creative economy were known beforehand. Typically, unexpected information was received from the random pick interviews,

4 Results

4.1 Culture in Kenya

4.1.1 Cultural shift

Based on the 24 interviews and observation, there were elements of a cultural shift. In 18 interviews, the discussion focused deeper on the reasons and the effects of the Kenyan cultural shift. In all 24 interviews, the interviewee mentioned the cultural shift when they were questioned about their culture. Especially, the older informants said that the Kenyan youth do not know their roots anymore and a lot of cultural features have disappeared. The young people who were interviewed told that they were indeed interested in other cultures, but at the same time, they embraced their own culture, especially the ones who were interviewed in urban areas.

According to one interview in Taita Hills, the interpreter pointed, that there is a problem. The people in the area tend to accept everything new, and they are interested in the new things while forgetting what they have known. The interpreter gave an example of when Christianity came to the area. People forgot a lot about their roots, and moreover, they forgot African indigenous religions and their habits and customs. On the brighter side, it was expressed that Christianity finished the habit to throw criminals out of the cliffs in Taita Hills. The oldest interviewed person was at the age of 69. This person said that he has seen the change happening. He set an example with the food culture that the old nutritious food is no longer tasty for the youth.

Four main themes within the cultural shift came up from the interviews. The first one was climate change. According to the interviews, climate change has changed living conditions, both in urban and rural areas. The interviewees in rural areas had seen the environmental change in plants, both in natural and in cultivated plants. A couple of farmers pointed out, that the lifespans of the food crops and cash crops have changed, and the occurrence of rainy and dry seasons vary a lot. According to the interviewees, indigenous trees have disappeared and new exotic trees, such as eucalyptus from Australia, have taken over the forests in Taita-Taveta County due to climate change. As a result, there are fewer indigenous trees for manufacturing traditional goods forcing to adapt new processes in making crafts. Traditional arts made from wood have changed, and piece of knowledge has disappeared due to this. The use of plastic has

also increased to compensate for the lack of indigenous wood material, and furthermore, new tree species are being exploited for crafts. According to one interview, there are fewer traditional medicinal plants left in the forests and the traditional ecological knowledge of the use of these plants is disappearing.

Climate change has been a challenge to the inhabitants based on the interviews. People are forced to mitigate and adapt to new situations, and for some people, it has been rough. In 12 interviews, the importance of the community stood out, and that is the second theme. Interviewees pointed out that the importance of the community is enormous strength in adaptation and mitigation into new cultural manners. One of them described the Kenyan community as *“a group, where everyone does different things and helps each other by teaching new ways and ideas each other to help them survive new situations.”* The importance of the communities was appreciated on the local levels. Few interviewees answered that it is important to belong to some community, at least at the local level, so when you require help, you know that you can get it. In one interview arose a need for being part of the community in the rural areas in Kenya. The base is needed to build up first by making friends, and for immigrants, this has been a challenge.

A few informants noted that adaptation and mitigation into new situations in Kenya should start at the grassroots level. They based their argument on governmental policies and the fact that the regulations do not reach the communities, and if they do, the actions have been indicated to the wrong places and practices. They argued that together with the community, they can act fast, point their actions to the right areas, and work on things from the grassroots level.

In Kenya, based on the interviews, there is a positive feeling about cultural diversity. They see it as a strength, from which you can learn from others. It was also seen as a competition, but that made them self-develop, which the interviewees thought was a good thing in the end. One interviewee set an example through conservation, by pointing out the deep connection between the culture and nature in Kenya. The conservation starts from the grassroots level and through community thinking when they see that something is wrong, for example, when the animals are suffering, or the indigenous trees are disappearing. The knowledge of the events travels fast in the area,

and people act because it considers their livelihoods. When people see that something is wrong, they act when it is their matter.

The last two themes that arise from the results were globalization and digitalization. According to the interviews, globalization and digitalization have improved the quality of life in Kenya, but there have been downsides as well. A few informants said that globalization and digitalization have exposed their deep traditions to the public, which used to be sacred. By the time the knowledge, rituals and values became viral, secrets were no longer be able to be protected. This has caused a chain of actions, where people outside the tribes try to take an advantage of the knowledge. Usually, tourism is the way to do this. One interviewee said that he is trying to get a patent to protect the culture of his tribe. He also pointed out, that digitalization has enabled the rapid flow of information, and the data can be out there in a second. Particularly young people have taken advantage of this platform.

Western culture emerged when the informants spoke about globalization. Especially they stated that young people have adapted western cultural aspects into their lives. Respondents said that it has been harder for older people to adapt to new things, and a gap has arisen between the young and the old. Especially couple of interviewees were worried that the western culture has taken the space from the local cultures causing some traditions to be forgotten. Especially a lot of nature-based information has been forgotten, such as important medicinal plants and rituals for spirits, which was also mentioned in the context of climate change. Based on one interview in Taita-Taveta County, some of the deepest secrets are only told when people reach a certain age, usually when they reach 70. The interviewee explained that oral genetic information plays a significant role in African culture, but nowadays stories are not told as much, and a lot of culture and heritage are disappearing because of this.

Globalization has also caused a language shift in Kenya, based on the results. Three interviews mentioned this issue. They said the spoken languages in Kenya have been blending, and the youth are more interested in using official languages of the state, English and Swahili, and not their indigenous language. With globalization, the young Kenyans are more influenced by Swahili and English and do not think that their indigenous language is as important anymore. By observation it was easy to interpret, the younger Kenyans spoke better English, and there was no need for an interpreter.

Positive things that have been arisen from globalization and digitalization based on the results are the following ones. There are new technologies and ideas to run the business. For example, cultivation systems are improved, and new fashion styles have influenced the fashion industry by making the local tribes stand out. More Kenyans want to stand out on global markets and are proud of their local roots. Standing out makes them unique in the labor market. Globalization has made it possible to import, for instance, timber and thus protect local nature. One interviewee owned a furniture store and said that he rather imports furniture and wood than destroys declining local forest resources. Few pointed out that globalization and digitalization have opened the world to Kenyans, and the location does not matter in the context of digitalization, and there are more job opportunities for people, for example.

One interviewee, who was a teacher pointed out that one reason for the cultural shift in Kenya is the fact that culture is not taught any more in schools. Thus, the young Kenyans do not know what is new, what used to be normal, and what knowledge is ancient, and the significant heritage is disappearing.

4.1.2 Multicultural marketplaces in Taita-Taveta County

Multicultural marketplaces in Taita-Taveta County were approached by structured interviews and observation. Locations were Voi, Mwatate and Wundanyi, and the specific research areas in the towns were the market areas. The towns were visited on their market days, which were Tuesday in Voi, Wednesday in Mwatate and Tuesday in Wundanyi. Voi and Wundanyi were visited on different Tuesdays. The marketplaces are always open, but on those days, there are more vendors and clients.

People were asked about their cultural background and what they were selling at the markets. If informants were customers, the interview was not added to the results. In all these marketplaces there were permanent stalls for people to sell their products. To have a stall for business, one needed to pay rent. Thus several itinerant merchants traveled from one marketplace to another due to the market days. For example, one itinerant merchant was spotted in all three towns. Therefore the research was limited to permanent stalls.

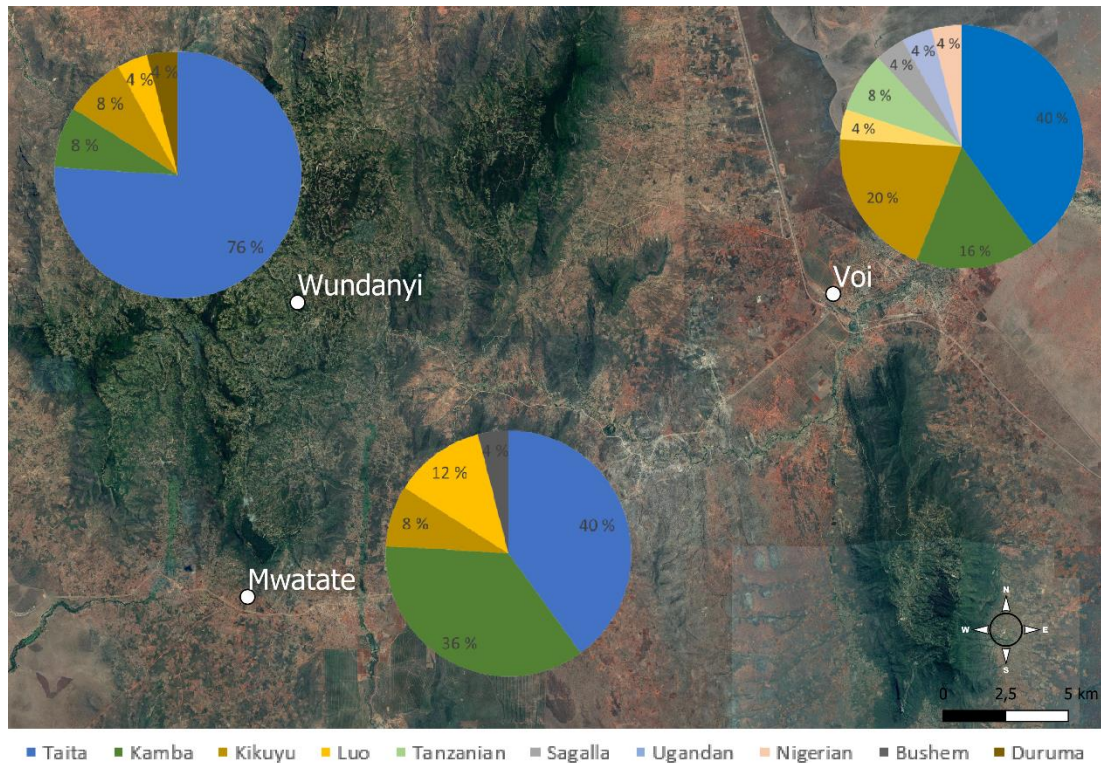


Figure 4. Multiculturalism in Voi, Mwatate and Wundanyi. The pie charts indicate tribal diversity. The largest cultural diversity was found in Voi and the smallest in Wundanyi. Source: Google Satellite. © Sari Aroalho

Figure 4 shows the multiculturalism in marketplaces of Voi, Mwatate and Wundanyi. Voi had the greatest diversity, 8 different tribes among 25 interviewees, while Wundanyi had the least cultural diversity. Taitas were the largest tribe in all towns, and in Wundanyi, its share was 76 %. Both Mwatate and Voi Taitas share was 40 %. The share of the Kamba tribe was the highest in Mwatate, while for the Kikuyu tribe it was in Voi. Luo people were the most represented in Mwatate, but they were spotted in all three towns as well as Kikuyus and Kambas. One bushman was found in Mwatate, and one Duruma was in Wundanyi. In Voi, there were few immigrants from Tanzania, Uganda and Nigeria.

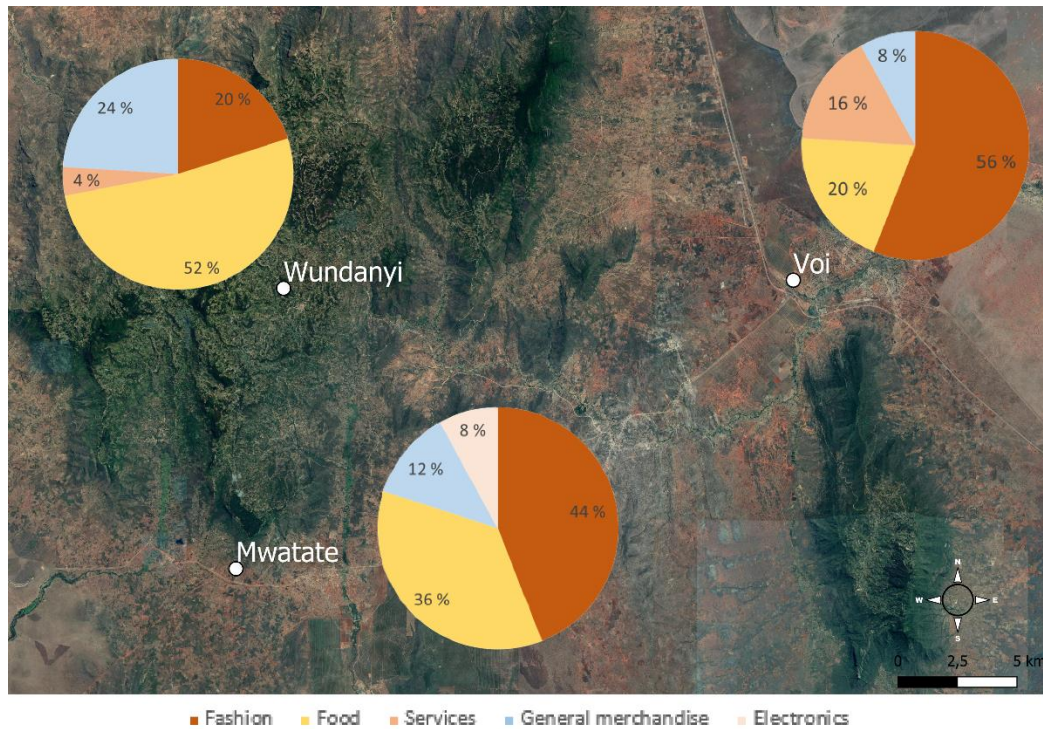


Figure 5. Market business in Voi, Mwatate and Wundanyi indicating various business activities. Source: Google satellite. © Sari Aroalho

Market businesses are shown in Figure 5. The results were categorized into five large branches. Fashion, including tailors, recycled clothes and shoes, was the largest business branch in Voi and Mwatate. Its share in Voi was larger than in Mwatate. The food branch was the largest one in Wundanyi and the second largest in Voi and Mwatate. Food included, for example, self-grown vegetables and nuts, as well as self-caught fish. Services, such as M-Pesa stalls and beauty salons, were found in Wundanyi and Voi. The share of general merchandise was the largest in Wundanyi and the smallest in Voi. General merchandises included kitchen supplies, small household items and self-made crafts. Electronics were found only in Mwatate.

By observation, the three towns were categorized based on their marketplaces as following: Wundanyi was categorized as a vegetable market, Mwatate was concentrating on recycled clothes and shoes and self-made crafts being a recycled-fashion market, while in Voi you could find anything you needed. Voi was the most diverse market, and thus it was categorized as a versatile market. The observation also made it possible to determine that the largest marketplace was in Voi and the smallest in Wundanyi.

4.2 Creative economy

According to interviews and observation, the creative economy is raising its share in Kenya. The sectors of the creative economy that emerged from the interviews were performing arts, music, fashion and tourism with the fields that support the sector, for example, arts and crafts. The weaknesses were knowledge about the sector, insufficient policies, copyright protection, lack of protection of cultures, lack of tourists due to COVID-19, insufficient marketing and growing competition. The growing competition was also seen as a positive matter due to the development of the products and continuous self-challenge and self-improvement. One interviewee who worked on the administrative level in the creative economy pointed out, that the sectors which are booming in the creative economy in Kenya are booming mostly at domestic and regional levels, but not on a global level, and thus export numbers are low. One of the problems mentioned in the interview was the fact that the workers do not know how to enter the global markets.

Interviews revealed that not much is known yet about the creative economy among the communities and grassroots level. For example, the awareness of the processes of the arts and crafts has been little, and attempts have been made to increase the knowledge about the processes and the costs. In this way, citizens would understand that it is possible to earn their living in the creative sector. The information is shared at the grassroots level among the communities through contacts to spread the knowledge as far as possible. Arts center GoDown is actively working on this matter. The center is providing, for example, infrastructures, which were named to be an important part of working in the creative sector. The results showed that there was a demand for infrastructures, that would help the creative economy to grow.

In Taita-Taveta interviews showed that tribes in Kenya have their specific style to produce arts and crafts, which is seen in the creative economy. This was also observed in the National Museum of Kenya in Nairobi, where there is knowledge about cultural diversity in Kenya. According to one interview, each tribe wants to stand out from the other. They do not want to be mixed with another tribe in terms of the creative economy, so they bring out their recognizable characters, even though they have a

strong Kenyan identity. Kenyan tribes appreciate each other's, and they think that having great cultural diversity is a strength. For example, they share their pieces of knowledge and teach skills, but after all, they are still part of their indigenous tribes. For example, in the creative economy, Taitas produce mainly crafts, such as baskets, bowls and bags, and music and dance are valuable as well (see Figure 6). The knowledge about the skills is needed to be shared as well, and according to one interview in Taita-Taveta, some individuals were teaching the other community members to make baskets, so the skill does not vanish. The community then plays a significant role in supporting, marketing and selling the products.



Figure 6. Women making Taita baskets. Taita baskets are colored with natural colors. Photos Sari Aroalho.

Information about Taita baskets was obtained from three different interviews. According to them, traditional Taita baskets are handmade and colored by natural colors, and usually, they are done in a group of people. The use of artificial colors means that the baskets are not traditional Taita baskets. The use of artificial colors has become more common due to globalization. Taitas are not the only tribe that is making these baskets, but traditional Taita baskets are identified by their colors. This has created competition in markets, as well as there are more basket weavers. According to one interviewee, tourists are more likely to buy more colorful baskets and the ones who make these baskets only think about the money, not the tradition. The interviewee was asked if she would be willing to color her baskets with artificial colors to make

more money to where she replied: *“No. Some traditions should not be changed, and I think this is one. If the tourists would know the reasons for the colors and the materials, they would buy more from me. All I need is better marketing.”*

Based on three interviews, bark from indigenous trees was earlier used as a material, but present-day sisal is the main raw material that is being used. Basket weaving skills transit from one generation to another. Weaving baskets is not usually the main source of income. According to one interview, one reason for other income sources is the lack of buyers, mostly there is a lack of tourists because of COVID-19. In one interview came up another skill that passes through generations, which is the manufacturing of the traditional Taita pots (Figure 7). These pots are handmade from clay, and their sales are great due to their everyday usage in cooking by Taita people. According to the interviewee, this traditional skill has not been preserved as well as basket weaving, and thus there is no competition. The interviewee hoped that the tradition of pottery would be preserved, and in order to maintain it, she has been teaching it, for example, to her children. The interviewee was afraid that youth are no longer interested in traditional skills, and they are more into modernized skills, for example, computer science.



Figure 7. Women making traditional Taita pots in Taita Hills. The pots are burned in a fire to harden them. Photos Sari Aroalho.

Interviews and observations revealed that passion is needed in the creative economy. For example, three men had moved from Tanzania purely out of the passion to work

among fashion in Kenya. They explained that with a passion, they were able to earn their living. They also pointed out that notably the youth have a chance to follow their passion and they have more freedom. Especially in rural areas, freedom is lost, because family footprints have to be followed forcing the youth to continue as a farmer. Passion has now opened more possibilities, and there is no strict path that you are expected to follow. Another interviewee stated: *“If a person has a passion for what he is doing, he also learns it quickly.”* A different interviewee told that after a divorce she was without education, but passion for the fashion was her rescue.

According to six interviews, fashion is an emerging sector, and especially in Nairobi, the sector is booming. In Nairobi, there are plenty of fashion designers and consumers, and the sector is evolving by co-working and learning from each other. Particularly wedding business is growing. In all those six interviews, the multiculturalism of Kenya was mentioned. This is seen in the street scene, which has started to show more of the colors and patterns represented by numerous Kenyan tribes, especially in larger towns and cities. In fashion business reputation among the communities is significant. One lady in Taita-Taveta said that she knows most of her clients or the clients know someone from her family. One negative thing related to fashion that emerged from the interviews and observation was the dumping of recycled clothing to Kenya outside of Kenya. The dumping, according to the interviews, has gone out of hand, and there are way too many clothes to be sold, and thus some of the clothes are burned directly. The marketplaces have a smaller share of locally produced clothing on sale than recycled dumped clothing.

Tourism is one of the most significant sectors in the creative economy in Kenya based on the interviewees. Almost in every interview, the effects of the COVID-19 came up in the form of the lack of tourists and potential buyers. In one interview came up the fact that tourism brings money to the areas, which is triggered by national parks and safaris organized bringing tourists to the area. This interviewee also mentioned that the money from the national parks goes to the government and not to the county where the parks are. Based on another interviewee, the consequences of climate change, such as lack of water for wildlife, are visible in the safaris. This decreases tourism and impacts the creative economy and the livelihoods of local people because there are fewer potential buyers. One interviewee said that the money from tourism helps tribes

to protect their cultures when they are free to decide on their own terms. The respect increases together with increasing knowledge about the cultures. For example, there are learning centers for tourists and locals teaching how to weave a basket and that way the tradition remains alive. One young interviewee pointed out that tourism is a field that is seen as a field where one could earn much and make money.

Cultural change is seen also in the attitudes of parents and youth towards education. Especially in interviews held in Taita-Taveta, the parents wanted their children to have an education in the field they wanted themselves. At the same time, they wished that they would learn traditional skills like farming and basket weaving and that they would continue to take care of the family farm. Based on the interviews with the youth, the most wished for education from the field where they can make money fast. These fields were mostly among information technology. They also thought that this would help them in global markets and bring more money. Also, the idea of following the dream was attached to education, while the youth were free to choose their path. One interviewee hoped that her children would study technologies that would help the marketing and selling of the craft products she is manufacturing.

The world's largest sisal plantation, Teita Sisal Estate, is in Mwatate in Taita-Taveta County. The following analysis is based on the interview. Sisal is grown and processed into the string, and most of it is exported abroad, for example, to Nigeria and West Africa, where COVID-19 has not closed the factories. Sisal's share in the global market is increased because it is a green natural product, and for example, roofs, carpets and car parts as a substitute for plastic are increasingly being made from sisal. The plantation also sells ropes for local basket weavers, and in addition, some third parties are buying sisal and donating it further for weaving groups. The plantation is thus helping the local creative economies. The workers in the area are from different parts of Kenya, and they are characterized to do different jobs through their unique expertise. According to the interview, people from Northern Kenya are most likely to work with their hands in physical work. Another sisal plantation worker noted that even though the exports are good and sisal is a clean green product, they are still using a lot of chemicals, and the conditions of employees could be better.

In Nairobi, based on observation and interviews, the creative economy is booming. There was enough knowledge about the sector and many possibilities to express

yourself. There was also better infrastructure than in Taita-Taveta to support the creative economy. Based on interviews, the culture has raised its position in the economy. One interviewee thought that the young people are waking up to see the importance of culture, and especially the traditions of their tribes have become more significant. In Taita-Taveta, the interviews indicated that the youth are more interested in learning something new about other cultures thinking that their own traditions matter that much anymore.

Marketing the goods of the creative economy was mentioned to be one of the largest problems. In basket business in Taita-Taveta, some groups are ruling the markets, and thus solo proprietors do not succeed in the markets. Self-employed persons who were interviewed told that they are struggling to cover their living expenses because they are unable to sell their products due to poor marketing. They explained the poor marketing conditions by claiming that the government supports the large groups and that they have received smartphones to market themselves through social media. When one interviewee was asked could she join these groups if she wanted, and she said: *“those groups are in lowlands and I live highlands. It would take me an hour every day one way to reach them.”*

According to five interviews, social media was used the most for marketing, and the most popular channels being WhatsApp and Facebook. A few creative economy entrepreneurs had websites for selling their goods, where they sold their products, and the sisal plantation even had a marketing team. Even though people have started to use social media to market their business, the role of community was still significant. One interviewee explained the reputation in the community keeps the business ongoing. One interviewee explained that the reputation of the community is vital for the business. An article was written about this interviewee five years ago, which improved his reputation in the area, and business has remained good ever since.

4.3 Governmental policies

Governmental policies that impact the culture and the creative economy in Kenya were mentioned in the interviews. According to one interview, the government has recently started to support culture and the creative economy by regulations and policies. The

interviewee justified her point of view by talking about The Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage and how it has recently formed and has set up its targets. According to this interviewee, the ministry has had problems before, but now within a couple of years, the ministry has evolved, and the programs and funding are more organized and better than before. For example, the ministry has organized new players into each county to take care of the cultural issues at the county level. According to this interviewee, each county in Kenya is kind of its own kingdom, where its own regulations apply. These areas have their own institutions that deal with cultural issues through their own policies and projects, and they can vary a lot across the state.

Four interviews made in Taita-Taveta County the interviewees said about the project conducted by the government. This project encouraged women to make arts and crafts in the area focusing on making Taita baskets. The government has given support on forming groups and starting a business in the creative economy, and the support came in the form of money and smartphones. These groups have formed a company, and they are trying to make their living out of the baskets. The reason for smartphones was that the companies would market themselves online. Not all the groups had received their phones yet, because the government requires evidence of the company's actions. For some of the interviewees, this was unfair, because they could not advertise their products, and the business was not successful due to this, and as a result, no evidence of the company's actions could be shown.

According to the interviews, even though the government has improved its policies, it is not enough. They are not doing enough what should be done for culture and the creative economy. Even though government does regulations and policies, they do not reach the people. Based on one interview, the interviewee had not received any help from the government even though there should be projects that would include him in. The interviewee argued that there is a gap between the community and the public sector. The government does not work on the grassroots level, and thus a lot of information does not reach people. If there is a project that would to many, the community may not be aware of this.

The information gap is seen also in the knowledge on working in the creative economy based on two interviews. According to them, the community needs more knowledge about working in the creative sector to understand why art costs so much, what is the

work process like for an artist and mostly, that it is possible to make a living while working in the creative sector. GoDown Arts Centre is an example of a non-profit organization, that is working between the grassroots level and the government in order to fill this gap. An interview conducted in GoDown revealed their principles and targets. They are volunteering to teach about artists' rights and copyright issues, which are not taught by the government, for example. They also provide a platform and space for new artists to learn the basics and evolve. Their work is based on the grassroots level, and they work among the community, learning from them and passing the knowledge forward. They learn the good, the bad, and the possibilities from them.

One of GoDown's principles is to connect communities and gather important information about them to file. The expert of GoDown in various creative economy fields is improving the sector. In addition, a governmental institution called Bomas of Kenya collects information about Kenyan diverse culture. The following analysis is based on an interview done in Bomas of Kenya. Bomas of Kenya focuses on culture and its various forms, but mostly on performing arts. Both GoDown and Bomas of Kenya work among the community in Kenya, but Bomas of Kenya under the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage receives funding from the government, while GoDown is a non-profit organization. The changes in ministries have created different policies and structures in Bomas of Kenya as they seek to preserve different ideologies, but the basic element has remained. In Bomas of Kenya, they base all their information on research about the cultures and their forms. For example, the tribal colors and clothing, dances and music need to be perfect. The center is also an educational center where Kenyans across the state come to learn about the cultures. Bomas of Kenya is also a popular touristic center, and they provide traditional foods from each Kenyan tribe.

According to one interview conducted in Taita-Taveta, some of the tribe's deepest secrets are only told to you when you reach a certain age. Kenya Vision 2030 targets to collect and cherish its diverse and rich cultural heritage by collecting data about the tribes. The interviewee had doubts about this action. The interviewee claimed that the government does not collect the information in the right way. In the first place, the information should be harnessed from those who are suffering, for example, from the small tribes where the heritage is about to disappear. The interviewee also questioned

how the information could be passed on to the government when the information is not passing from one generation to another due to the age gap. In addition, it was mentioned that when the government employees come to gather information about the tribes, they stay in the county headquarters. They do not come to the communities and to the grassroots level to gather the data, instead, they get the data from towns. The interviewee mentioned that in the towns the tribes are mixed, but outside of towns, people tend to live near their own tribe members.

4.4 Urban and rural areas

According to the interviews and observations, there are locational differences in society building both in cultures and the creative economies. These results were collected from Nairobi and Taita-Taveta County. Even though interviews were made in Voi town, its results are categorized as from rural area.

Based on the results, cultural diversity is vast in Nairobi. In Taita-Taveta, according to five interviews, the main tribes in Taita-Taveta are Taitas, Tavetas and Sagallas. However, the structured interviews revealed that there are more than those three tribes, and Kambas and Kikuyus live in the county, for example. One interview explained that there are mixed tribes in the towns, but outside of the towns the tribes tend to cluster, and thus the main tribes are Taitas, Tavetas and Sagallas. When the interviewee was asked could he explain this he answered that: *"people feel more comfortable when they are not the only new ones in the area and thus, they cluster in towns."*

Based on the interviews, many people have moved away from Taita-Taveta County for work reasons, typically to Nairobi or Mombasa. One interviewee was born in Taita-Taveta but moved to Nairobi to work. She said that in Nairobi, there are people from all over the country and from other East-African countries. People work together and learn from each other, and multiculturalism is seen as a strength. In Taita-Taveta, multiculturalism was also seen as a strength. Based on the interviews only during the elections, cultural diversity is a negative thing, which may cause riots.

The meaning of the own culture and own tribe is emphasized in Nairobi. People were proud of their backgrounds, and they saw themselves as unique in a place where

cultural diversity was vast. Especially the youth wanted to stand out of the crowd. The young people also saw the possibilities in their cultures to earn money, for example, through the creative economy. One interviewee wanted to get an education from the university and go back home to utilize it. Another one instead told that he never wanted to return because the area he originally moved from is not developed enough. In Taita-Taveta, the youth was not that proud of their roots, and they did not bring their culture out.

The differences in digitalization were spotted during the research. Based on the interviews and observation, ICT is booming in Nairobi. They have the necessary equipment to make it work, which is not available in Taita-Taveta. One interview told an example from education. When COVID-19 happened, schools were closed. Children in urban areas had the chance to study online, but in Taita-Taveta, the children did not have the equipment needed, or neither did the teachers.

The geographical location with the urban and rural areas influenced the creative economies too, also in the form of different industries. Based on the interviews in Nairobi, the creative economy is booming, and the markets are good. There are buyers and there are sellers, there are possibilities and there is knowledge. In Taita-Taveta County, the interviews exposed that not many people saw the possibilities of the creative sector. Most of the interviewers were farmers, and as they said, farming is something that has been done over there for centuries. They wanted their children to have an education and earn money, but they did not see the chances to make money out of the creative economy. Few people in Taita-Taveta saw the possibilities typically from the touristic point of view. In Nairobi, the attitudes were different, and the youth saw the strength of having culture as a tool for making money.

5 Discussion

5.1 Analysis from the results

Kenya is fascinating in terms of culture and the creative economy. The percentage of the youth in the population is rising, and their attitudes towards the cultures are

shifting. In addition, there are geographical differences in the attitudes. The creative economy is consolidating its position in the Kenyan economy, and recently the government has begun to support the sector by different policies and regulations, indicating that culture is given recognition and value. These policies, however, seem not to reach targeted groups, according to the Kenyans. Interest in culture has been growing among Kenyans, especially in urban areas people want to bring out their own tribal culture, and they want to stand out from the crowd.

The results are based on the data collected in two locations in Kenya, Nairobi and Taita-Taveta County. Thus, the results cannot be generalized to the whole of Kenya, but there are congruent features that can be presumed to find in similar locations in the country. However, we cannot generalize too much from the results. In this study urban areas refer to Nairobi and rural areas to Taita-Taveta County.

There is a vast cultural diversity in Kenya, as stated by Ingham et al. (2020) and Chigudu (2018), and the results showed that there is cultural diversity both in the country and at the county level with regional differences. Tobler's (1970) first law of geography defines *"everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things."* Gibson and Kong (2005) noted in urban areas people tend to cluster by their cultural background. On a country level, there were indeed more cultural diversities in the urban areas. In the rural areas, people tended to live within their tribes. The larger cities, like Nairobi, are more multicultural than the rural areas, mostly because a lot of people tend to move in pursuit of work or study, as Vastapuu et al. (2020) mentioned as well. According to the results, especially the older people in Taita-Taveta hoped for their children to have an education in the city, and the youth agreed on that, as their motivation was to get an education with which can make money fast.

Cultural diversity within the county emerged from the structured interviews and observation in Taita-Taveta. The first reason for the multiculturalism was the accessibility, and thus the location. The better the accessibility was, the more cultural diversity there was. The second reason was the size of the marketplaces. The size of the market correlated directly with the size of the town. The larger the town was larger the marketplace was, and consequently also more cultural diversity. According to

Kwach (2019), migration to these towns took place from central, western, and coastal areas of Kenya.

Multiculturalism is seen as a strength according to April and Shockley (2007), Chigudu (2018) and De Beukelaer (2014). Results showed that the Kenyans agree on that, and they see multiculturalism, for example, as an educational way where the knowledge is shared, and significant self-development happens. The only negative aspect was in politics. During the elections, the risk of having violence is high because everyone wants their tribe member to be in the lead. This is seen primarily in urban areas, where there are more cultural diversities than in rural areas. The cultural mindset varied also between urban and rural areas. In urban areas, people emphasized more their cultural background, and they wanted to stand out from the mass. In rural areas, people were more interested in other cultures, which was achieved through digitalization and globalization. Especially this phenomenon was seen in the young people, as the urban youth spoke upliftingly about their own tribal cultures, while the young people in rural areas were more interested in the Western culture. The elderly people in Taita-Taveta were afraid that the youth is no more interested in their roots and heritage, and thus the knowledge is disappearing when it is not passed on. The results are based on only 24 interviews, but this small number indicates what young people think about their culture in Kenya.

The cultural shift is happening in Kenya based on the results, as Schinzel (2015) and Hoffman (2019) proved that cultural shift is in action, and the shift is reflected in the creative economy as well. Climate change, digitalization and globalization were the main reasons for the cultural shift in Kenya based on the results, and the meaning of the community emerged as a tool to adapt and mitigate to the new situations. Schinzel (2015) found that globalization and digitalization were a few of the reasons for the cultural shift, while Hoffman (2019) found connections between climate change and cultural shift. Balasubramanian (2018) noted the meaning of the community in Africa, while Adger et al. (2013) found the need for mitigation and adaptation in terms of climate change.

Results showed that especially, the young people were a driving force in the cultural shift, and their approaches to the culture varied a lot due to the geographical area. Geographical location affected access to technology. Lifintsev and Wellbrock (2019)

noted that young people are more interested in intercultural communications than the older generations, while Primov et al. (2020) stated that the youth are a significant part to trigger the change in society. Based on the results, the young people were more interested in the global languages and modern foods, especially in the rural area, and they did not mind about the change, while the older ones were worried about their heritage.

Culture and the creative economy were linked together in Kenya, similarly expressed by Kong (2014). The results showed the skills for the creative economy in Kenya are mainly learned at home from the family, as the skills were passed on from one generation to another. Ghazi and Goede (2017) noted that creativity is created by human interaction, which was observed during the research. The importance of having creative individuals available close by (Lampel & Germain, 2016) was observed as they were the ones who passed the knowledge on. The importance of having a place to learn about the creative economy emerged from the results.

Established strengths in the creative sector in Kenya were film making, performing arts, music, street art and TV and radio according to a report conducted to British Council (Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy, n.d.). UNCTAD (2018) listed videos and films, TV and radio, music, videogames and books to the emerging creative economy sectors, and graphic design, fashion and advertising as subsectors. Fashion was claimed to be a significant growth driver in the future. Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy (n.d.) noted socially -focussed start-ups, ICT hubs, SMS messaging ad targeting, visual arts and fashion to be emerging strengths. Based on this study, the emerging creative industries were performing arts, music, fashion and tourism with the fields that support the sector, arts and crafts. The creative economies which are booming in Kenya are mainly doing it at the national and regional levels due to insufficient information and access to global markets. The creative economy and its forms have changed, for example, because of tourism and climate change.

There was variation between Nairobi and Taita-Taveta in the creative economy. As the literature argued that the digital creative economy is strong in Nairobi. For example, Rosenberg and Brent (2020) noted the importance of digitalization in the creative economy, and Mbaye and Pratt (2020) saw the booming technology in the area. The digital creative economy also appeared in the results. For example, copyright

issues and their lack were mentioned, and the marketing through social media. The importance of social media appeared in particular in Taita-Taveta County, where marketing was mostly done through mobile phones and social media, and from this, it can be concluded that there is a digital creative economy outside of Nairobi as well, although it is not on the same scale. Kenyan youth were especially into the opportunities that digitalization is creating. The linkages between ICT hubs in Nairobi and the creative economy were not evidenced in the results, even though Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy (n.d.) noted their importance in the creative economy. One reason for this might be that there were no informants met from this field. The creative economy needs to change with the cultural shift, for example, the production of the Taita baskets has changed over time, but the basic elements and the traditions are still there.

The theory by Florida (2002) on the creative class and the creative city, and the classification about Nairobi being a creative city by Rosenberg and Brent (2020), were evidenced in the results. In Nairobi, there was a prominent cluster of creativity, as Rosenberg and Brent (2020) noted. Their classification was observed, and some linkages were found from the interviews too. For example, they pointed out people's frustration against the infrastructure of Nairobi, which was observed to be true. Daily power cuts did happen, and the lack of insufficient infrastructure was noted. The arts center GoDown was one place, which provided necessary facilities for the creative economy. Taita-Taveta County was more focused on the traditional creative economy forms such as basketry, and tourism was significant for them and for Nairobi too. Tourism has also developed the creative economy in Kenya, for example, some crafts have been modified to promote their sales.

The governmental policies were a topic that brought a lot of comments. The government's role emerged in the extant literature as the policies were used to support the sector as well as to make economic strategies (Kong, 2014). The role of the policies has been recognized globally (Bae & Yoo, 2015), and some countries have succeeded in this (De Beukelaer, 2014). In the extant literature, there was questioning what the governments are doing in helping the creative sector (Ghazi & Goede, 2017). Kenya has made plenty of policies to support the growing sector. These policies did not show at the grassroots level, based on the results. Kenya Vision 2030 plays an important part

to develop the state on paper, but the actions are not visible within the Kenyan community. Also, there was a demand for infrastructures to help the sector to grow.

According to the Kenya Vision 2030 (2020), culture and national heritage are at the core of the development blueprint, and they are seen as significant pillars of sustainable development. Results showed that the policies are not sufficient or targeted to the right groups or actions, and one of the most challenging parts was to restore the information about the cultures. The visible information is easily collected and documented, for example, languages, music and dances, like UNESCO (2020b) noted. The deepest secrets and the oral information that is passed on from one generation to another, are carefully guarded information that is not shared with outsiders. Here comes the paradox, if the local, the people part of the tribe cannot get the sacred information for themselves if they do not reach the certain age before the elder of the tribe passes on, how can a non-tribal person on behalf of the government collect the information? Also, the government workers who collect the data are primarily collecting the data in the county offices in the towns, and they do not collect information from the crowd.

The governmental institution Bomas of Kenya is collecting and preserving the knowledge about the cultures in Kenya, mainly in the form of performing arts. Bomas of Kenya has been under the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage during the past years. The ministries drive the different points of view, so the information and data may have been collected differently, perhaps from a commercial perspective in mind. This affects the collected data about the Kenyan cultures and the creative economy. The Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage (MoSCA, 2020) was established in 2013, and its policies and regulations may still seek their place on the grounds that the policies set by the ministry are not being met their targets, as the ministry's target is to take care of Kenya's rich national and cultural heritage.

UNESCO (2019) pointed out, that not many countries have yet utilized the role and the whole potential of the creative economy. In the results, there were only a few creative industries that were mentioned. It can thus be concluded that not all the potential in the state is utilized. The potential of driving the economic growth and local development in the creative economy was recognized in the extant literature (Boccella & Salerno, 2016; Pangsy-Kania & Sokół, 2020). Palanivel (2019) saw the chances in

social development with the culture and the creative economy. Cultural diversity is vast in Kenya, and Kenyans see it as a strength. The Kenyan government wants to utilize cultural diversity, but the policies are not there yet. From the results, it can thus be concluded, that cultural diversity could be exploited from the grassroots level, where is a vast amount of information and knowledge. There are some limitations. Limitations are created by the tribes, for example, if they have secrets that they are not allowed to share. There is an immense demand for political actions which would help the individuals in their processes in the creative economy.

The weaknesses related to the creative economy that was shown in the result were insufficient knowledge about global markets and the creative economy sector, insufficient policies, copyright protection, lack of protection of cultures, lack of tourists due to COVID-19, insufficient marketing and growing competition. Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy (n.d.), UNCTAD (2018) and UNESCO (2020a) named the following ones as weaknesses: insufficient documentation of the creative economy, which affect the political decisions, lack of training and skills, inadequate cultural infrastructures, lack of awareness and knowledge about the sector, advertising compared to international markets, creative education and funding.

In the Kenya Vision 2030 (2020), the youth are considered to be a significant part of the development blueprint. From the interviews, none of the respondents mentioned that the government would have a focus on the youth and their growing number when they were asked about the policies that the government does. The youth themselves were interested in the field of the creative economy, as well as their heritage. Kenyan youth have also embraced the cultural shift well and adapted new dimensions in their culture. There were regional differences, and the urban youth brought out more of their cultural background than the rural youth, and rural youth had adapted more dimensions from other cultures and did not realize the meaning of the own heritage.

UNESCO (2020b) argued that Kenya's creative economy offers opportunities especially to the youth, agreed by Kamara (2017). Results differ from the literature for that the need for passion was named to be one of the main points of how people end up on the field. The second was the fact that cultures, which are the core of the creative economy, were no more taught in the schools. If the cultures are no more taught in the school, how the young people can know about these things and get into the field? Sung

(2015) argued that the creative economy has a great potential to provide work. Based on the results, the creative economy has the potential to grow in Kenya and thus provide more jobs.

Based on the results and the analysis, there is a gap between the government and the community in Kenya in terms of culture and the creative economy. Sepe and Trapani (2010) noted that in order to develop society the local community is needed to integrate into all processes. GoDown (2021) is one of the organizations, who are making the gap smaller. GoDown is bringing the parties closer to each other. Also, the gap between the urban in rural areas in the knowledge about possibilities and the chances that the creative economy could bring to the society needs to get smaller, so everyone could utilize their culture through the creative economy and build society through it.

5.2 Validity of the results

The chosen research methods gave good quality data. The mix of the methods increased the amount of the data and gave variety. Unstructured interviews gave the information, which was needed and broadened the angle of view of the subject. In addition, from the 24 interviews, 13 were random picks, and 11 were organized beforehand. This arrangement secured that information related to the topic was gathered from 11 organized interviews. The downside was that there was a chance that no information was received from the informants with the randomly chosen interviews. In few cases, the conversation almost drifted off the topic, as the interviewee did not know much about it.

The method of the unstructured interviews was chosen even though it was well known in advance that the results cannot be strictly compared, and it takes time to go through each interview. Thus, the number of interviews that were conducted with this method, $n=24$, suited for this, and variabilities emerged from the results from the culture and the creative economy. The only negative thing was that the numbers of the unstructured interviews were not even between Nairobi and Taita-Taveta, which may have affected the results.

Counterbalance was brought with structured interviews, which gave quantitative results that were possible to compare with each other. This method gave numerical values that were analyzed in Excel and visualized in QGIS. The number of informants in this was 75 from three in advanced chosen locations. This method used random picks, and thus, for example, the results show that there are no services in Mwatate, even though there are. The sample of the survey should have been larger in order to have more reliable results. Besides, these results are based on the information received from three larger towns in the county. The results might have been different if the data was collected in all parts of the county, and if sampling would have included, for example, the small villages in Taita Hills or Taveta town next to the Tanzanian border.

The age was not asked in the interviews. If the interviewees told it by themselves, it was marked down. This left a lot of responsibility to observation when classification the young and the elder ones.

Even though the interpreters were used to conduct this research, there were some language barriers. The questions were asked correctly by the interviewee, and in some cases, the answers were not even related to the questions. This also happened with the interpreter, which is why during this research three interpreters were used.

5.3 Future research

As Mbaye and Pratt (2020) expressed the matter, there is a lack of information about the creative economy and its relation to cultures. This research provided some of the necessary additional information on the subject. However, more research is needed.

Firstly, from the topic of culture and the creative economy as builders of society in Kenya. This research focused on Kenya with two prechosen counties out of 47, Nairobi and Taita-Taveta. Thus one task is to research the rest of 45 counties. As the results showed, some of the tribe's deepest secrets are not told to the public, and thus there is a lack of information about the cultures and the creative economy in the counties.

The second task is to find out the linkages between digitality and the creative economy in Kenya. This research did not delve into the subject in more detail. Some connections

were made in this research, but more information is needed. Also, on how digitalization is changing the cultures and thus the creative economy.

Thirdly, is to seek out the possibilities of funding in the creative economy and the chances to succeed in the sector regardless of location. It is essential to find out the policies in the creative economy in Kenya. For example, what are the needed policies? For funding is needed to investigate more about what is done, for example, more about what HEVA is doing.

Fourth, as Pratt (2020) pointed out, COVID-19 has created new opportunities, for instance, the chance to address and hopefully change the systemic problems of insecurity and injustice in the urban cultural economy. This needs further research.

And finally, it is crucial to research the gap between the government and the community, especially on how to make it smaller. For this, it is needed to have the point of views from the government employees as well.

Future research is needed. In particular, in understanding more deeply the cultural dimensions. For example, how do they show themselves in their various forms, for example, through the creative economy, and how do these dimensions develop societies.

6 Conclusions

The research gave answers to the three main research questions that were set to research to see whether culture and the creative economy build a society in Kenya. As the results show, culture and the creative economy are linked in Kenya. The Kenyan culture is diverse, and Kenyans seen it as a strength. Kenyans see themselves as a part of their tribes, but they are still all Kenyans. Community is a significant part of the Kenyan culture. It is a resource, which helps Kenyans to adapt and mitigate to new situations. New situations are related to climate change, digitalization and globalization, and shown in the cultural shift. The cultural shift is changing the habits of the Kenyans, and some ancient heritages are under a threat. The cultural shift is also changing the creative economy.

The culture shift and the generational changes are causing the disappearance of heritages. Some traditions have disappeared as time passes, and some have disappeared when forced. The generational change is seen in the attitudes that the youth have towards their cultural roots. Some of the young people emphasize their cultural heritages through clothing, and some young people are more interested in other cultures through intercultural connections, which are easy to access through the benefits that digitalization and globalization had made possible.

Especially the attitudes of the youth varied within urban and rural areas. In urban areas, the young people were prouder of their cultures than in the rural areas. One reason to explain this change in Kenyan attitudes is that less culture is taught in Kenyan schools. In addition, in Kenya, there is a lack of knowledge about cultures and the creative economy. The knowledge about the possibilities, policies and acts in the creative economy was known to only a few respondents, and one reason for this was the governmental acts.

Even though the Kenyan government has grown in interest in culture and the creative economy by regulations, the results showed that they are not targeted to the right groups or the actions. However, the results might be falsified by the fact that government employees were not interviewed. Then again, this research brings out the voices of the Kenyans on how they feel about the policies targeted to the culture and the creative economy, and Kenyans were not satisfied. The importance of the community is in a significant part in this. The passion and the desire come from the grassroots level. The local community is needed to integrate into all processes in order to develop the society.

The creative industries varied by location. The literature found the fact that Nairobi is specialized in the digital creative economy and that the city is a creative city with creative people. There was more happening in the terms of culture and the creative economy than in Taita-Taveta, and there were more possibilities to develop in those terms. The rural area was more into the traditional forms of the creative economy such as arts and crafts based on the results collected from the field, and there was a potential in the rural areas to develop in the ICT field as well in the future through spreading digitalization. Tourism was significant in both locations to sell the goods of the creative economy. Unfortunately, tourism had suffered a lot because of the COVID-

19 situation. Fashion, music and performing arts were the rising industries in Kenya, especially at the national and regional levels.

Culture and the creative economy do build a society in Kenya. It is seen in each level of society, for example, among the families, tribes, counties, and even the government. Each level influences and controls the way culture and the creative economy build the society in Kenya. Cultures are evolving and adapting to new situations, where the meaning of community rises. Community is a large part of the Kenyan culture, which provides help in adaptation and mitigation in a cultural shift. A cultural shift is also causing a shift in the creative economy. Here we can see that culture is indeed at the core of the creative economy. Culture and the creative economy bring people together as cultures play a significant part in Kenya, and it has been recognized as a strength in self-development. Culture and the creative economy also provide jobs to the growing population in Kenya, and in the future, this is essential.

One of the challenges is to preserve the cultural diversity in Kenya among young people. Another one is to target the governmental policies to support this action. The power of the youth in building society through culture and creative economy is at the turning point in Kenya, as their attitudes towards the cultures and heritages differ between the locations. The gap between the government and the community does a lot of harm to the creative economy as the policies do not support the sector. If these significant points are solved, there is a vast potential for the culture and the creative economy to pursue building society in Kenya.

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Annex 1. Interviewee guide 1

Interview framework for unstructured interviews.

Interviews were conducted by asking questions around themes (themes 1, 2 & 3). The interview situation was in a form of a discussion, and the interviews were recorded if permission was given from the interviewee. The reasons and the background for the interviews were explained before the interview.

Theme 1. Culture

- Who are you?
 - Background
 - Culture, Kenyan and tribal, heritage
 - Work
- Family
 - What do they do?
 - Hopes for the family
- Community and society
- Anything special that emerges from your culture
 - Traditions, heritage, etc.
- Governmental policies
- Free word

Theme 2. Creative economy

- Creative economy around you
 - Your work (if it is categorized to the creative economy by UNCTAD)
- Business
 - Future
 - Marketing
- Governmental policies
- Free word

Theme 3. Free word

- If the interviewee had anything special to say about the topic under research, it was focused on and discussed more

Annex 2. Interviewee guide 2

Interview framework for structured interviews.

Permission to gather information was asked before the interview, and the background for the questions was explained beforehand.

Interviews were conducted by asking the informants two questions:

- 1) What is your tribe?
- 2) What is your business?

Annex 3. Research permit

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